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Cuba

Castro Speech Marks Contingent Anniversary

FL0510170089 Havana Television Cubana Network in Spanish 0102 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Speech by President Fidel Castro marking the 2d anniversary of the Blas Roca Calderio Contingent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Comrades, guests, comrades of the Blas Roca Contingent: Yesterday at approximately this hour, maybe a little earlier, we were commemorating the 3d anniversary of the minibrigades. I think that was a very important step in the rectification process since the minibrigades should never have been dissolved. The minibrigade movement is now much stronger than it ever was. The construction industry now cannot resist what the minibrigades can do.

We not only have minibrigades like the ones that initially emerged, but we now have other types of minibrigades. We now have social construction minibrigades to eliminate unhealthy neighborhoods. This is something new and very important. We now have minibrigades for social maintenance and the reconstruction of homes. This is also very important. Today we have industrial minibrigades. How did they emerge?

They emerged from the idea of making a number of investments to improve the attention given to man and production conditions in the mechanical industries. These brigades are comprised of workers from the industry itself. They are organized and carry out the necessary investments in that industry. That is how all the minibrigades have been created. Those groups organized by work centers to build family doctor house-offices and family nurse homes can also be called another type of minibrigade.

Yesterday, we reviewed what the minibrigades did during these past 3 years. An important advancement was made in that time frame, although it was less than we expected. We are very familiar with the factors that have limited better results from the minibrigades. It's not because of the human factor. It's because of material factors.

The work performed by that movement has been of considerable magnitude if you consider that it began from zero, zero in everything: equipment, technicians, specialists, engineers, architects, concrete makers, winches, wheelbarrows, zero in everything. In a short time, that movement acquired enormous momentum in our capital. It has many resources, thousands and thousands of minibrigade members who have been trained. It has hundreds of advanced- and intermediate-level technicians. The minibrigade movement is now a force, an impressive force, and we know that we will overcome the objective difficulties, and that the results of that movement will continue to increase.

What the minibrigades have done are true feats. For example, yesterday I noted the 111 child care centers they constructed in only 2 years. That is 22 times more than was planned for the 5-year period. Approximately 24,000 mothers can take their children to those child care centers. These are important statistics.

These mothers are generally highly-skilled. They went into production and services. The minibrigades have thus multiplied the work force in the capital. It might be better to say that they have increased the work force to a high degree and have resolved an important problem—which is hardly ever discussed anymore. It is now very difficult to find a mother who says she cannot work because she does not have a child care center where she can take her child.

Now we are building what we need, even though we built 5,000 more units than what was assumed we needed when the minibrigade movement began. The minibrigades are on the verge of finishing the important programs for polyclinics and special schools. These programs were completed, finished, in only 3 years. All the installations for special schools in the capital are adequate for the type of education which is so important to our city and our society.

I have listed three kinds of projects. The minibrigades are now helping build bus terminals so they can be finished quickly. They are helping build the central markets. They are constructing 156 small markets. They have built more than 1,600 [family doctor] house-offices and, this year, they will build close to 350. The minibrigades constructed EXPOCUBA, and are primarily responsible for the construction projects of the Pan-American Games. They have constructed bakeries, stores, everything. Whenever a need is expressed in a municipality, the minibrigades are there providing a solution.

Now that I think of it, when we planned to build five child care centers, and we asked why they were not being built, no one said it was because we needed cement. The country was exporting cement. No one said it was because we needed reinforcement rods or finishing materials. The immediate response to our question was that there was no work force. There was no work force to build a child care center.

If I asked why a bakery was not built, I would be told that it was because there was no work force. If I asked about a circle—I don't mean a circle; I mean a polyclinic—I would be given the same answer. If I asked why a special school was not built, the response was always that it is impossible, impossible, impossible because there is no work force. If I asked why more apartments weren't built, the response would be the same. When I asked why the number of apartments being constructed decreased every year, the response was that there was no work force. There was no work force for anything, and Havana was full of residents, full of workers. Nevertheless, there was no work force for anything.

This situation gave us some strange ideas, some theories, in whose name the minibrigade movement was fought. This situation gave us strange ideas on how to organize work and production in socialism, and it gave us peddlers. In the end, what all this did was deny revolutionary and socialist methods, truly socialist methods, for the construction of a new society.

Where were the people? They were in the offices. They were doing unproductive work, killing time. They had extensive personnel rosters, as extensive as the mentalities of those people who forged those theories—as history has demonstrated. Three, four, or five people were assigned to jobs that could be done by one person. That is aside from the invented, invented [repeats himself] personnel lists that were later [word indistinct] full of people. The personnel lists were never complete. We're lucky they never were. I was told that they were not complete because there were no people to complete the personnel list. I think they would have given jobs to fifth graders.

The personnel rosters were full. There were enterprises that had more people in the infrastructure than they had working directly on jobs. It was incredible, incredible [repeats himself]. It looked like it was something done on purpose to block socialism, to discredit socialism, to prevent socialism from functioning. Of course, how could it function when capitalism can and should function much better than socialism! Baloney!

I ask the capitalists if they have brigades like yours, if they have contingents like the Blas Roca Contingent. One day, when I was speaking with the Japanese—a Japanese delegation—I told them with much satisfaction: You are hard working people. The Japanese are famous throughout the world for their dedication to their work. I told them: We have collectives of workers that are capable of working as much as the Japanese. You will understand perfectly well why I didn't say anything else, out of courtesy to our visitors. [laughter, applause]

I want to know, I want to know [repeats himself] if men are capable of doing what you do for any amount of money, simply for money. Are there men with other types of motivation who would be capable of doing what you do?

You do what the patriotic soldier does in defending his fatherland. You do what the Mambi soldier did in the last century. Their duty was to fight, and they fought. Sometimes they fought in their bare feet, without medicine, and without food, but they fought. No man does this for any amount of money. You are doing what the rebel soldier did. He walked incessantly, fatigued, with food or without food. That is not done for any amount of money. No man will gamble his life for money. If he is going to gamble his life for money and he sells his head, he won't be able to enjoy the money he will receive. [laughter]

Many construction workers slept in a kind of pigsty. Why would they want to pay them a lot of money if the food was intolerable, if the living conditions were dismal?

You do what the revolutionaries did. If our people are not revolutionary, then who will carry out the revolution? Four cats? Will they talk about equality, justice, well-being? Four cats cannot carry out the revolution, only the people can do this, all the people. The first thing that the revolutionaries have to do so that everyone will join them is convince the people that they have to join them. They have to convince the people that the revolution is the most just thing to do, and that it is the highest level a society can reach. They have to convince the people that socialism is a social principle, that it is a system that combines the highest goals that man has had throughout his entire history. A man may turn into a wolf man, devouring men, but he is a man, brother of man. The revolutionary has to convince the people that the isolated man will be turned into a man in unity and in solidarity with all the others. I ask you, could any of you build that highway alone? What would any of you alone be without your brigade? What would any of you alone be without your collective?

The duty of the revolutionary, first of all, is to use revolutionary methods and to lead the people on the road of the revolution, in the feelings of the revolution, and in the style of the revolution. Otherwise, no society could be built. Socialism should not be encouraging individualism, the loner, the alienated man, the man without profound motivations. Deep motivations are worth more than anything, because a man will sacrifice anything for them. You'll never get anywhere if you use tough methods.

Certain factors are now being analyzed. Many ask what factors have caused socialist systems to find themselves in disastrous situations. One day you'll see. One day, someone will tell you how much this is related to the methods that were used in the construction of socialism. Even capitalist methods were used. Unfortunately, that virus was introduced into our country. The carriers of that virus were some people who were theoretically very confused. They forgot all the true roads, all the truly revolutionary roads, for the construction of socialism.

A question was raised here. Do you believe in man or not? Am I going to treat a man like a dog just because I simply give him money? Do I want to move him because of the money? Do I mistreat him, let him live however he can, not tend to him, not think of him simply because of the money I give him? What is a man reduced to when he simply works for money?

There is no other alternative for a man in capitalism. No one will educate his children. No one will take care of his children at a child care center. No one will give him the opportunity to be whatever he can be, intellectually. No one will take care of his children's health. No one will guarantee him a job. The individual will have to save himself however he can.

The worker in a socialist system knows why he is working. He is not working just for himself. He is working for his fatherland, society, all the people, his

children, the people he most loves, his parents and grandparents, if they are still living. He is working so that his grandparents can also receive medical attention, or have a place to go if they cannot be left alone or if there is no one to tend to them. He is working so that his grandparents can receive a pension so that no one is forgotten. In socialism, a man works for himself, his family, and many other things. He is not the worker from the capitalist system. The worker in the capitalist system has no other alternative but to work for money. How can a man be treated like that in socialism?

Socialism can and should work better than capitalism. Look at the number of problems that exist in capitalist societies. There is unemployment, disease, drugs, other kinds of vice. What can they do? Each individual is left to his own luck. Capitalism cannot provide a man with any other kind of destiny.

I'm referring to capitalism in developed countries. Why should I even mention capitalism in underdeveloped countries? You are familiar with the disasters and the catastrophes that have happened there. If you ask about illiteracy, they [not further identified] tell you that they have 30 or 40 percent. They say that children go to second or third grade and that's it. If you're talking about capitalism in Latin America, you will learn that hundreds of thousands of children die every year. If you have the statistics, you will see that infant mortality is 60, 70, 80, or 100 percent. Forty percent of the population receives medical attention and everyone else does whatever they can. They use herbs, remedies, or spiritual methods to combat illness.

No comparison is possible between capitalism in underdeveloped countries and developed countries. It is a disaster of disasters. Money is not invested. There is capital flight. Currency comes in one way and goes out the other without benefiting the country at all. We don't have much currency, but what does enter, benefits the country and helps develop it. That is why I have not been able to resist this. Of course, I have not resisted it.

It is a disaster. Capitalism will never resolve the problems of underdeveloped countries. They have little, and what they do have has to be managed carefully. They have to prepare a program and decide where each centavo should be invested, and not allow every individual to do whatever he wants to do with what they have. That will never lead to development.

Even when capitalism emerged, it had no competition whatsoever. No tree cast a shadow over it. Imperialism now casts a terrible shadow over capitalism in underdeveloped countries of the Third World. It is a true tragedy for those countries. They have no future of any kind.

What kind of motivation can a man have there? He wouldn't say: I'll work until 2300 today, or until midnight, or 0100, or 0200 because I want to finish my work. It rained yesterday and I'm behind schedule.

There is no conflict with the workers in a revolutionary socialist system. There is no reason to have conflict, because the worker totally identifies with society, production methods, interests, and the objectives that are being sought with those production methods. The worker totally identifies with his work.

If the workers copy capitalism, look at all the problems you'll have. You'll have all kinds of problems. We're seeing it in some places. All types of problems arise when the worker is divorced from his work, when the worker is displaced from his most noble ideas and his most profound motivations and these are replaced with money.

It is not that we have forgotten about money. I remember when we created the first brigade. I listened a lot to the comrades of the first brigade, which is when we created the contingent. They said, we do not want to have any kind of labor ties [vinculacion]. We don't want extra hours. I told them that ties are appropriate. There are many ties that are crazy, many of them. They turned out to be crazy in construction. Above all, they were a disaster in reference to the famous payment by agreement. That conspired against quality, against everything. Only shoddy work was done.

A truck driver that has labor ties will be paid more. More trips are made. More trips are made [repeats himself]. How fast can a man go? The truck driver cannot make any more trips than the established speed limit will allow him. Otherwise, he will kill himself or he will kill a citizen on the road. He will either kill someone or destroy the vehicle. The truck driver is dependent on the bulldozer operator that works there. If the operator is absent, that is it. The truck driver arrives and finds that there is no dirt. If the mechanical digger operator does not show up one day, exactly the same thing will happen. If there is no discipline, there is nothing. If the worker made a lot of money in a few days, he can go out and party for 3 or 4 days. What kind of productivity can the truck driver have then? When the truck gets farther away, there are less trips. You can't be checking every day to see if he's building a road. The distance today may be 2 km. Tomorrow it may be 2.5 km. The day after it is 3 km. The following month he could be 3 and ¼ km away. You cannot change the standards every day. I do not know.

I really think that you cannot treat the construction worker like a man who cuts sugarcane by hand. That is easy to measure. In construction, it is necessary to have the cooperative efforts of many people. Above all, quality is necessary. For those of you who have cut cane here, you know if you strike a blow at sugarcane with a machete, it falls, one way or another. However, you cannot build a wall with machete blows. You cannot build a granite floor with machete blows. You cannot do anything in construction with machete blows. When you are building a road, a bridge, anything, you have to do it correctly, with care.

That formula for salary by agreement was a disaster. I told the drivers, no, there will be no labor ties. In reference to

extra hours. I said, what are your extra hours? You have established a 12-hour work day so the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th hours are not extra, and neither are the 13th, 14th, or 15th hours. It seemed fair to us and it seemed practical to work 11 hours, 12 hours and to be paid for it. They were not extra hours. They were practically the normal working hours for a contingent worker.

We have applied these ideas in practice and we can see the results here. I think that all the problems with the profiteers were linked to indiscipline, and a paternalistic labor law that did not help discipline, but helped indiscipline. It did not protect the good worker, but helped the lazy, [word indistinct], the shameless worker. We have to say it was this way, as a rule. [pounds table]

The good worker never had a problem of any kind, but the other worker, the bad one, got himself a lawyer. He knew all the articles, every thing. He planted the seeds of indiscipline, and with indiscipline came demoralization. I think it is very important to analyze all this at the workers congress. We need to discuss whether socialism, the revolution, will be carried out with that paternalism, without discipline. What the workers want is discipline. If you speak to a worker, he will tell you he rejects indiscipline. The worker rejects laziness and wasting time, all these things.

These are some of the concepts the contingents changed. They were not changed because of the unilateral discipline of one administrator or leader. They were changed because of the discipline imposed by the collective. The collective became the judge, and something more than a judge. The collective became the supreme tribunal in the heart of the contingent. The collective made the decisions. I think that this is one of the most important things and one of the most important advancements and supports provided by the contingent. That is the reality. There are many things that the contingents have created.

A group of us worked on the creation of the contingent. We defended the idea. We believed in the men. We believe in what we are saying here today. The ideas are basic, fundamental. The contingent itself, during its development, has given us many things. It has given us new experiences, ideas, formulas. We cannot forget that the contingent started out as a brigade.

I spoke with Comrade Lezcano [Jorge Lezcano, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, PCC, in Havana City Province], Comrade Chavez [Pedro Chavez, president of the Havana City Province People's Government], and other comrades. I said, we must revolutionize all construction concepts. We cannot continue this way.

We were already rectifying a number of things. I said, the revolution needs to demonstrate what can be done with construction, by using other ideas, concepts, in construction. These ideas can be applied, in one way or another, to other areas. They are more applicable in some areas than in others. Not all activities are the same. We need to revolutionize construction if we want to develop the country. Everything depends on construction, everything. There is no kind of economic or social development without construction.

We have already observed a few circumstances. For example, we saw the attitude of the workers of the genetic engineering center. I think we began at the center by stating the same things. We have to make this a true center. It has to have a minimal staff to begin with, a minimal staff. The staff has to have multi-assignments to begin with.

The people would waste their time all day. The bus driver would arrive in the morning. He arrived at 0730. He sat there idly until his shift was over in the afternoon. He did nothing. He just sat there. Sometimes those workers filled the hallways and the vestibules of the buildings. One person drove a van. The other person drove a bus. Someone else would drive a truck. All this when the man who arrived in the morning could have driven the van, fulfilled his duties, and then done other things. According to the old method of work, we had 35 vehicles and 35 drivers. They were chained to their vehicles. They were locked to their vehicles. [laughter] If another kind of transportation was needed, it was impossible because there was no key to unlock that man and allow him to do something else. There were 35 drivers. The van got old. It did not go anywhere for 6 months and the driver was still there with his van. He did nothing else.

How can you develop a country like this? How can a society waste resources like this? That would make us just like the capitalists, or even worse! The personnel rosters were super stretched out. That is why when the genetic engineering center was organized, we told them that the staff had to have multi-assignments.

Dedication to work emerged when we had to develop a very important medication. A group of scientists traveled abroad, learned the technology, and then worked day and night on it. That is how that idea grew. I visited a research center that can treat the health of many people, the lives of many people. Why should we waste time? Why do we not dedicate ourselves to our work? The scientists accepted those ideas. They were very young people.

Under normal conditions, I could assure you that the center would not have had less than 2,000 workers, no less than 2,000. There was a smaller center next to it. It was much smaller. The building was much smaller. It had 1,400 workers on its personnel list and 1,200 workers on site. It was an enormous step to have (?60) workers. We rationalized, organized, and adopted those ideas. Today, the center has 599 workers. The National Scientific Research Center is now conducting more research than ever.

The genetic engineering center would have had 2,000 workers. Do you know what we agreed on for the size of the staff for that center? We decided on a staff of 350. That is approximately one-sixth of the staff the center would normally have had. They did not start out with

350. The staff was increased every year. The center has expanded its work. It has other activities. It now has a staff of 363. I give you this example so that you can see clearly how human resources were being underutilized in a terrible way. That center has conducted great work since it was created. We saw the most important work put into practice when they applied that idea.

We later saw a group of construction workers, a minibrigade that was building the Julito Diaz Hospital. That is a very important hospital for the physically handicapped, people who have illnesses, or are victims of accidents and require rehabilitation. They began to work. The minibrigade comrades were shown how to lay tile, how to do things. At one point, they were working 12, 13, and 14 hours. That collective of workers was enthusiastic about its work. We got ideas from this.

When we suggested to Comrades Chavez and Lezcano that we create a collective that could demonstrate what could be done in construction, how people can be better used in construction, and how productivity can be attained, and we discussed who the chief of this collective would be, Chavez knew Palmero [Candido Palmero, chief of the Blas Roca Calderio Contingent]. He recommended Palmero. We asked for some information. I knew Palmero. I had seen him but I did not know him by name. I met him years ago when they were building the first [word indistinct]. After his background was analyzed, it was decided to give him the position and I think it was a truly excellent selection. We must congratulate Chavez for the suggestion he made and later... [interrupted by applause].

The party then recruited the first members. The party recruited the first members [repeats himself]. The party selected a number of party members and youths. The first group of workers were selected. There were people. There were people [repeats himself]. How could there not be any people if Havana has 800,000 workers?

I can assure you of the following: I can assure you that out of every eight workers in Havana—and I'm not counting you because I cannot count you or the contingents, including the minibrigade members—out of every eight workers in Havana, at that time and now.... [changes thought] Now there are less because there is a large minibrigade contingent. If we took one worker out of every group of eight workers, no one would miss them, no one. What I want to say is that the other seven workers could do the work quite well. I would dare say that, in many cases, we could even take two workers out of every group of eight workers and nothing would be affected.

We know the difficulties that hold up production in factories and many other places. It is because we do not get the raw material on time. It did not come on time because we are getting it from a brother country which has not yet shipped it, or because we have contracted to get it from a country that is not a brother, a country from the capitalist world, and we do not immediately have the money for them to send the merchandise. Each time it's shipped, we have to pay for it. These are limitations, problems that we are all very familiar with, above all now that we are working with less resources than ever, with less than ever. What we are doing now should have been done 10 or 12 years ago. This would have been quite a phenomenon 14 years ago.

We are aware of the problems that limit production in factories. Many times, the workers wait 3 months for raw materials, and they meet the year's production goals during the remaining 9 months. This can be done in many factories, but not all of them. This happens in many places.

How can there be an excess number of people in the service area? How can there be extra people in offices? We have to resign ourselves to the fact that we will have extra people until we give them jobs, right? If we mobilize them and then we have nothing for them to do, it is better that they stay there. At least it is one way to pass time and they do not get bored at home because they are, quote, at work, unquote. [chuckles] Often they are just standing around with their arms crossed. Many times, those workers are given a task that has been invented and is not needed, or they fill out papers that no one reads. [laughter] No one ever reads them, only their chief. They make copies and file them. If we continue with this procedure, we will need a building that is 3 times as large as the capitol building just to file papers.

How can we still have extra workers? We know about it but we cannot do anything. We can send them home with their salaries but that is not healthy. To send them home without their salary would not be fair. The revolution does not do this. That is what the capitalists do. The workers become capitalist apprentices. We now have capitalists and capitalist apprentices. Do you understand? These are two different categories. One is a new concept that has recently emerged. We cannot do that.

There is tremendous potential in Havana. If we had the material, we could mobilize 100,000 people. In general, we mobilize workers, men and women, that are aware of our housing needs. They are dedicated people. How could we not have housing in Havana City? We were constructing 2,500 or 3,000 homes, less than 5,000 a year. It all came to a standstill because there was no work force. How can you tell the residents of Havana City, with a population of 2 million—and 800,000 workers—that the housing problems could not be resolved because there is no work force? What we did not have was imagination, common sense, revolutionary concepts, revolutionary ideas. What existed was unfamiliarity with the masses. The masses were forgotten. The masses were underestimated. The masses were scorned. Some of those individuals were even members of the PCC. What a way to be a Communist, with a capitalist tumor in the brain! What could come from this?

Man cannot be a revolutionary just in words. He has to be a revolutionary by his deeds and his attitude toward

all problems in life. We have a magnificent people, a revolutionary people, and we did not properly take advantage of these possibilities. If this minibrigade movement had begun a long time ago, we do not know what we could have accomplished. How much could we have done? How many homes where not built when the minibrigade movement was dissolved in the name of those theories?

Those tasks were simply handed to workers in the construction industry. They were put in that category. Now we clearly see that we have mobilized only a small part of what we can mobilize, and we do not have enough material. We have increased cement production to almost 800,000 tons. If we include the cement that is not exported, it is still not enough. We are now beginning to have enough cement for reasons I explained yesterday at the minibrigade meeting. We are now getting enough.

More and more investments are being made and it is not enough. We will have to make more and more investments so that there is enough, or so that at least it comes close to matching the enormous work force that we can mobilize to construct homes. We will also have to resolve some objective problems, some that are more difficult than others, like the matter of finishing materials. That is one of the problem areas. We are working hard on this.

Yesterday, I was explaining.... [changes thought] I do not want to be repetitive. I do not know if the journalists feel obligated to repeat this. They would be wasting their time. That is why I will not discuss the matter of saving cement and lumber, where we are attaining important and promising advances. We used to throw everything away. As an example, I cited the cement used in the Construction Ministry. Where did the 720 kg of cement per cubic meters of concrete go? There was no control. With so many mechanisms, offices and things, there was no control at all. A large part certainly must have been stolen, diverted, or wasted. How could you use.... [changes thought] How much did Palmero say the average was? [unidentified speaker says, "It is 360."] That is on the highway? [unidentified speaker says, "That is on the highway."] Yes. We are using 360 [unit not specified] on the highway. With the amount we used to spend on cement to build a kilometer of highway, we now can build 2 km of highway. I also spoke of this yesterday. I do not want to spend more time on this topic.

It is good to reflect a little, right? We did not come here to simply hold a commemoration ceremony. I discussed the things the minibrigades had done. One of the things they did was help us develop an idea superior to that of the minibrigades, which was the idea of the contingent. I already explained how we gathered people from one place and another, with some experience, to reach these conclusions. The first brigade was organized. We decided to create a contingent. It was called a contingent from the start. Like Palmero said, there were about 364 [unit not specified], right? [Palmero responds: "There were 164."] Yes, there were 164: 1-6-4.

Since it was a brigade, it was given a banner and called a brigade. Someone made a mistake. It should have been called a contingent, because that is what it was. It was a brigade/contingent. That is why we gave the other group a banner and left the first group with the name of brigade. They could patch their banner on the bottom and change it to read contingent, brigade/contingent, because at first it started out as a brigade but was really a contingent. Of course, a contingent is bigger.

It was an idea, an experience that began 2 years ago. I have witnessed how that experience has developed. I visited the brigade/contingent whenever I could, and I tried to learn how everything was progressing. I do not know how many times I visited them. I did not count the times. However, I read an interview with Papo, who heads the Almendares Brigade, the Bermuda Triangle, as the Almendares plan is now called because of the many things that need to be resolved. I read an interview that said Papo had spoken with me 114 times. That is a good average for 2 years. This gives you an idea of how interested I was in this experience. What would arise from this? What would happen when these ideas were applied?

It was very exciting for me to see how that brigade/contingent progressed, to see their results. All the ideas were applied. They got adequate accommodations. They had adequate living conditions, mattresses, air conditioning, so that the men could rest when they had to, and family doctors. That doctor saved lives because he found some comrades who would have died at any time if they had continued to do that kind of work. The problem was that they were qualified for that type of work. They were not taken off the job. They were just given other duties. That doctor saved lives in this contingent. He gave medical examinations in one of the best hospitals in the capital. The workers received dental examinations, everything. Those are the kinds of conditions they had. In addition, the principal was established that the best-fed workers in the country had to be the contingent workers. We had to look everywhere—but without depriving anyone—of course. There is no sense in taking from one to give to another. We had to look somewhere else to provide for the people.

That is what we did with all the contingents. Nothing has been taken away from the population. No food has been taken away from society. Instead, we have sought new food resources for the contingents. The best fed workers in the country have to be the ones that work the hardest. There was even some concern over food preparation, who would teach us how to prepare it.

That is how it began. All the concepts that preceded the development of this movement were rigorously fulfilled, but many things appeared along the way. Regulations developed along the way. This regulation developed along the way. That important regulation developed along the way. Some new ideas emerged along the way from practice.

Palmero's talent and revolutionary spirit, his ability to obtain everything [interrupted by applause], to obtain everything [repeats himself] that is essential, revolutionary, and profound in regard to motivation, helped very much. Above all, the work example that one sets is essential. The chief should arrive first and be the last one to leave. He should show perseverance in his work. Palmero is also impartial.

He occasionally complains if there is a storm. I tell him, I am glad it rained. It is not good for construction but it is good for the country. He also knows this. When I came here, he said, it has not rained today. He said, it is not good for the country. [laughter] Now, Palmero more or less [Castro chuckles] thinks more about the country than about construction. That is how it should be.

Of course, one way to help the country is with construction, and the contingents have shown that many things are possible to make up for time lost because of the rain. This year, construction benefited from a dry May and June. July, August, and September were not as dry.

The work of the contingent kept improving. We saw the results, and we acknowledged that there were many needs, for example that of EXPOCUBA. That is when we created brigade No 2. Brigade No 2 emerged with all the standards of Brigade No 1. Later, Brigade No 3 was created. I think this was the railroad brigade. They had to build a bridge. That is how brigades were created. They emerged like the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra. They started with one column and the second column emerged from the first column. Then, the third and fourth columns were created. This way, many of the founders were located in different columns. It is the same story as that of the Rebel Army. That is how the columns of the contingents grew. We call them brigades of a contingent.

Each time a new problem arose, we had great confidence in the results. There was not an abundance of equipment, and we had to use the equipment to the utmost. No one used equipment like the contingents did. It became evident that the contingent could do double the amount of work with half the number of men. The equipment had a higher usage rate, not because it was new, but because it received proper care. The men took care of the equipment. They did not break the equipment to become idle workers that receive 70 percent of their salaries. Those crazy concepts were completely changed. That is how one brigade after another was created. We now have 23 brigades. [chuckles] After 2 years, the brigade is an army, that first brigade of the contingent. We now have 2,600 brigades, and that number will continue to grow through the rest of this year.

We began by building a highway, and now we build everything, anything. The construction of a cold-storage plant is not easy. A cold-storage plant is not a refrigerator. A cold-storage plant is a complex task. [applause] The brigade that is constructing the Alquizar cold-storage plant [interrupted by cheers and applause from the audience] is breaking all records in its quickness, its speed in constructing this type of plant, and in its quality of work.

Contingents are now constructing five-star hotels. The construction of a five-star hotel is serious, and I am sure they will build it quickly and with the required quality. It has not progressed more because the construction projects have slowed down. When the pace picks up again, you will see.

Contingents are constructing terminals. Contingents are beginning to construct pre-university schools in rural areas. Those schools are very important. Adequate installations will exist for thousands of students—above all in the capital—who do not have adequate installations or cannot participate in the work/study program. The fundamental goal is education. There are almost 20,000 pre-university students in the capital. The installations they now have can be used later by a different school level, a secondary school, or another type of school. The contingent has a program to build 30 schools, 10 a year. Do not think that it is easy to construct those schools. The first thing we must do is resolve the prefabrication problems. I know that it will be difficult during the next few months—until new factories are constructed. The ones we used to have got run down when the construction of schools and other buildings ceased. Until new facilities are built, the prefabricated material has to come from other provinces. You know that the coordination of this is complicated. Until the material is manufactured in the same province, one must work hard to guarantee that the prefabricated material arrives on time or the work stops. Everything will be more certain when the factories are constructed. The first thing the leaders of the contingent did was to coordinate with the Construction Ministry [MICONS], and with other organizations to guarantee the supply of prefabricated material.

There are many different projects under construction now. They are draining the Rio Almendares, and the conditions are being created to make an important area in the capital healthy. It is a center of infection, of mosquitos. Conditions will be created to make it one of the most important places in the city, the Metropolitan Park.

It has been demonstrated.... [changes thought] Yesterday, I said that the contingent is a new type of enterprise with a minimal number of indirect workers and a maximum number of direct workers. I think that everyone feels proud of the results attained from the efforts of the Blas Roca Contingent. The men of this contingent are admired and respected by our people.

Now that I have spoken about the theorists and the peddlers, I must discuss something that is very important. All those things that were created were invented in the name of a so-called economic efficiency, in the search for economic efficiency. What they did was make everything go up in price. They created more inefficiency than ever by following those methods I mentioned.

From an economic point of view, one of the contingent's greatest achievements has occurred in the economic area. The cost of things was not previously known. In addition, the projects were not finished. Enterprises constructed in a way that was more convenient. There was no dirt and they put up columns. They did not do the most difficult work. They did not finish buildings. They did what generated more money. They did not care about the country. They did not care if they dug a hole that would be open for 4 years.

The brigades became disorganized. They disappeared. An anarchy was created with the equipment. It was dispersed everywhere. The situation arose, like the one I recently mentioned in Varadero, where the work force that was building the Corojo Dam spent 240 [unit not specified] for each peso of production. They became a precontingent and then a contingent. Then they reduced this to less than 60 centavos.

One of the most important things about the contingent is that it maintains rigorous control over all costs, equipment, the amortization of equipment, maintenance, gasoline, and fulminates, if fulminates have to be used. The value of everything they use is known in detail, at last, thanks to the contingent. At last, thanks to the contingent, we can now tell how much a project costs. I spoke to you about genetic engineering [interrupted by applause]....

I spoke to you about genetic engineering. It was constructed with a certain amount of speed and with millions of problems. There was no contingent; there was chaos. No one has yet been able to determine how much this project cost. We know how much it cost in convertible currency, of course, because of the material we had to import, the equipment that had to be purchased, equipment that ranges from electrical plants to sophisticated laboratory machinery. We know how much this cost in convertible currency but we do not know how much it cost in pesos.

People would come and go. They removed the time clock. What an illusion! They thought that they could draw people in with their money. It turns out that many people arrived at 0800 and left at 0830 and no one knew. Everything was going on there. No one yet knows how much the genetic engineering center cost.

If you asked about any construction project, you would be quoted the budget. He [not further identified] would say, the budget is 5 million, 7 million, 10 million pesos. Sir, do not quote me the budget! Tell me how much it cost. You can say 6 million, 7 million, 10 million but do not quote the budget to me. Tell me how much it cost! He would say, what it cost? The truth is, he said, the truth is that I do not know. [laughter] There was no one who would speak about anything but the budget, because aside from the budget, they would have to acknowledge the losses, or so-called earnings. I will not explain how income can be earned by spending 240 per every peso of production. They played this strange game: How much was it? How much is the budget. How much did I make? How much did I lose? How much more do I have to ask the bank for? It was absolutely crazy. Those who invented such procedures must have come from a mental hospital.

No one knew the cost, and cost has become one of the central points of a contingent's work. You can see it in construction. Some construction projects are more complex than others. Some are more mechanized than others. In some cases, high productivity is attained thanks to machinery. In other cases, the labor is mostly manual and the same kind of productivity is not attained. However, in the contingents—I am speaking about the contingents—the cost of production per peso in the task of ground breaking in general is often times less than 70 or 60, less than 60 in some cases. All the workers know what the cost of production is. Knowing costs is essential to society.

Another important factor is the value assigned to these projects. One can see the efficiency there. The contingents have allowed us to appreciate efficiency in construction, and their efficiency in comparison to other systems—to what we used to use—including the efficiency between contingents. One cannot apply this comparison to the letter because, I repeat, no two tasks are alike. One contingent can be working on rough ground while the other is working on smoother ground. Another may have a loan [as heard], the other may not yet have a loan. Some contingents may have to stop more for rain while others do not. Costs vary even in just breaking ground, even if two brigades work exactly the same.

In truth, I consider this to be one of the most important features of the contingent, the reduction of costs, efficiency, and the measure of those costs, which is so important in developing the country.

The idea spread, which was logical. The prestige the Blas Roca Contingent acquired was enormous. Many workers wanted to join contingents. It was interesting. No one knows how many people have knocked on the door of this contingent to become members. Many people wanted to be part of the contingent that was the best work center, the most honorable, the most prestigious. Many people were turned away. They were told it was not possible, and that they would be called when they were needed. It was the hardest work and many people wanted to do it. That shows you what man is like. The contingent had the most rigorous discipline and many people wanted to be part of it. This also shows you the mentality of man, the worker, the true worker who naturally repudiates indiscipline, laziness.

The idea spread, and the other contingents were approved one by one, one by one [repeats himself]. We did not want this to happen hastily, in a disorganized way, and thus ruin the idea for us, because this can happen. That is why the idea has gained prestige each time. We always said, the conditions must be created to be a contingent. First of all, attention to man is needed to be a contingent. All the requirements—dormitories,

food, medical attention—the same principles that were used in the creation of the first brigade still applied. We have always demanded those requirements. A contingent cannot be created unless it is approved by the executive committee.

Wherever there is a serious problem, a delay, complications.... [changes thought] Many times I would ask Comrade Palmero, go visit that area. See what is going on. Tell me what you think. He visited several areas, several projects that had serious problems. We began to organize contingents with those same workers who were disorganized, chaotic, unproductive, and with broken equipment. Seventy percent of the equipment worked. The workers would go home. For example, this happened in Moa at the Camaroica plant. The individual feels he is better off at home with 70 percent of his salary. He might be doing other things. If he is of peasant origin, he might be planting something. The workers of Camaroica received the idea very well. They organized the contingent and all this changed. Gentlemen, everything changed. It was estimated that 4,000 or 5,000 [unit not specified] was needed to finish the building. They are now building it at a cost of about 1,200 and [words indistinct] 2,000. The project is progressing.

I already gave you the example of the Corojo. That is another area that Comrade Palmero visited. Wherever a contingent was organized, everything—what used to be and what exists now—changed. We said, we are going to have a problem if we try to straighten this out with what already exists. The concept of the contingent must be applied.

This does not mean that the workers that are not in contingents work poorly. On the contrary, the example of the contingent has set an example for the rest of the construction workers, and they are working with the spirit of a contingent, making a great effort as they have never done before. The example has spread even though the workers may not be organized into contingents. I know that they work very well. Many of them aspire to become contingents.

The problem is applying the concepts of the contingent. It is not just a matter of changing the name, but of changing all the principles in virtue of ones organized by others and then applying them. The results are colossal, colossal [repeats himself]. We can affirm that. We have to take care of the idea, continue to develop it, and continue to give it prestige. There are excellent contingents the length and width of the entire country. They often do not have new equipment. They have old equipment.

Some had trucks from the (Maricastana) era. How many trucks? There were 70. What brand were they? They were of all brands, (Ino), Fiat, Diesel, (Cama), (KP-3), and others. How far did they travel as a rule? They traveled 40 [unit not specified]. How many drivers did they have? They had 70. They took 30 away and assigned them to other activities. They waited until they had a few new trucks, until we could give them some trucks. Every car, no matter from what era—it could have even been from the past century, an old car—had a driver. He hardly ever went anywhere, never or almost never.

There were a number of workers like this. This then created problems with supplies, accommodations, everything. Every problem was multiplied. Everything became expensive. Everything became complicated and everything was disorganized.

Some of our contingents with old equipment applied these new concepts and everything changed. Production increased notably with the simple application of the concept of a contingent, and by using the same equipment. That excellent contingent said.... [changes thought] Many began emulating the Blas Roca Contingent almost from the first.

No one knows how many challenges exist for the Blas Roca Contingent. It will not be concerned over this or humiliated if a better contingent emerges. That could happen even if it is just for a single reason. The first contingent began with an average age of over 40. There was much experience, but perhaps not much energy. A contingent is being organized of boys recently discharged from the service, recently arrived from Angola, with an average age of 23 or 24. They will not be as wise as the founders of the first... [crowd interrupts with shouts, unidentified man yells: "Nevertheless, we will fight in every way!"] I am not saying this to hurt your pride. On the contrary, I think you should be pleased that everyone wants to compete with you. You should be pleased because you were the founders. You were the ones who defended the ideas. You were the ones who put the ideas into practice. That is an honor that no one can take away from you. [applause]

You are constructing large projects, important projects, throughout the country. There are now more than 60 contingents. I do not have the exact number right now. How many are there? [Unidentified speaker says: "There are 65."] There are 65 contingents. I have been organizing a few, Panchito. I have told them to have high aspirations, to have high aspirations until they have been assigned. Why? Because there are projects with new equipment, and if the standards of a contingent are not applied, even though the group is not considered a contingent at first, the equipment will break down and anything can happen.

That is why many of the new brigades, the ones building the causeways or the ones building the milk centers in six provinces throughout the country, are contingents or will be contingents after all the requirements have been met. We are not afraid to create new contingents. It is often easier to create a new contingent than to unravel the habits of an old collective of workers that is used to practicing many negative things. Even so, we have been able to do this. There are many construction collectives with the same workers. There is always someone who says, this is too hard. I will go. Please, transfer me. There

is always some of this, right? But in general, the majority of workers see this as a great honor, and take great satisfaction from this.

One of the problems the contingents had was that, since they were coming from minibrigades.... [changes thought] You are familiar with the salary system for minibrigades. They came here for what they could earn at those work centers. The first contingent emerged from the minibrigades, the first brigade.

There were great inequalities in salaries. No one brought up those problems be we were aware of them. At a certain time, when the contingents had grown, we said that a special tariff should be assigned to the contingents, a special tariff. It should be a tariff assigned to the men who do the hardest work in a conscientious, enthusiastic manner, to fulfill the plans of the revolution.

We analyzed this at several meetings of the executive committee. This problem was difficult. Certain categories received a specific wage. In some cases the salary would be very high. I said, I do not care if it corresponds to a job that justifies it. We analyzed this but we did not only consider the opinion of the executive committee or that of the members of the executive committee. We spoke with brigade chiefs and we asked the State Committee for Labor and Social Security to meet with us once, twice, or more if necessary so that our ideas could be examined by men with their experience. We learned the opinions of the brigade chiefs, the most experienced people.

That is how that tariff was established. Many salaries were improved but several things occurred. A few construction workers' salaries were so chaotic that some were earning more than the tariff. We established the principle that to be part of a contingent, the worker's salary must be adjusted to the tariff. Even though it was a high tariff and they worked long hours, there were some tariffs that were so inflated that some workers were making more than the tariff assigned to the contingent. We had to standardize the salaries.

This could mean a certain increase in the cost of production per peso. An increase is logical if higher salaries are to be paid because of a contingent's good work, their efficient machinery. Then the cost of production will increase. This does not bother me. It could be 5 centavos, 10 centavos. I have confidence in the work we are doing now. All the contingents will work below cost, a cost that is less than the peso, as we call it. I am sure that there is no problem now with the new tariffs.

There is something else. Not all the projects are evaluated the same. Some are assessed well. Some are overvalued while others are undervalued, including apartments. It is not easy for the minibrigades to attain high productivity because they do not work with machinery, like workers who construct a dam, and because they build apartments. In my opinion, apartments are undervalued when they are compared to what an apartment building costs anywhere else in the world. The value could be three or four times greater. That is why, every time we see the cost, we must analyze what the project is, what level of mechanization it has, what the value of the project is aside from the costs. It is not difficult to know what the costs are, as I said.

We see one brigade, another, and then another. We will have a system of information with the brigades on construction costs like the country has never had. I think these are principles that can be applied to other areas of the economy to find out how much everything really costs, and what is possible in every area. It is not just a matter of determining the average cost for an entire factory, but what is more expensive and what is less expensive. That is what can help determine where investments are necessary, how things can be improved.

We now have a tariff for the contingents. We said there were about 65 contingents. Panchito said there were 66. What is the total number, more or less, of men in the contingents? [Unidentified man says: "There are 32,000."] There are 32,000 men in the contingents.

There is a good work force in Camaguey Province that is constructing a large dairy in Jimaguayu. Their goal is to become a contingent. It is possible that this year or next year, the number of contingents will increase.

Sometimes a contingent has only one brigade. Then it has two. The construction work in Varadero is being done by contingents. They have 20 brigades. We recently saw this with the inauguration of the Varadero Airport and they made a good impression. There are around 6,000 members in those brigades. The contingents will tend to grow organized as brigades.

I explained in Varadero how the brigades operate, how some support others. Each one is responsible for his men and his equipment. The equipment is not dispersed even though they are working in different areas, even though they may be supporting others.

I think that by next year, there will be 100 contingents, over 100 contingents. There is no concern. I repeat, there is no concern. It is possible the contingents may have 50,000 men, or a little more, by the end of next year.

All this implies resources. The contingents have a special diet which, as I said, is not taken away from anyone. A certain number of supplies are directly sent to the contingents, above what they already have. We have assessed the costs carefully of all this. When it should be produced, when raw material should be imported, or when some of that food must be imported. Each contingent requires a certain amount of food that is above the normal quota of a construction worker. It must be varied as much as possible. It must be varied as much as possible [repeats himself]. It is important that they have one kind of grain or another. Aside from that, we sometimes send them additional quantities of food. If we have a little cod available from what we purchase from Canada, then we send it to them. It is not a large amount, and it cannot be guaranteed every month. However, we can guarantee it every 2 or 3 months. The contingents

will occasionally receive additional quantities of a certain product. This principle must be applied and it must continue to be applied strictly.

I am certain that when we have 400 [corrects himself] 100,000 men in contingents, we will be doing the work that 400,000 men used to do, and we will do it with superior quality and we will finish projects. We will finish projects [repeats himself]. It used to take 25 years to finish a project, 30 years to finish a dam, a highway. That is what happened. Prior to 1975, we made large plans with the brigades. We built close to 500 secondary schools in the rural areas. They were built prior to 1975, prior to all these inventions. In Havana alone, close to 1,000 dairies were constructed by brigades. A large number of dams, highways, roads, many things were built. Later, after the inventions, nothing was ever finished. Nothing was ever finished.

Of course, one does not know what can be done with 100,000 men who are truly building. They can give momentum to the country by working with this spirit, and I am sure we can attain this. In order to attain this, what we are doing is not worrying.

One must earn the condition of contingent. It must be won and we must guarantee all the conditions so that a contingent can be created. We will proceed slowly. We are going slowly because we are concerned, as the English saying goes. I think it is an English saying. Someone else from another country may have invented it. However, we are going slow to do things right and to continue maintaining the strength and firmness of this movement.

I think that this organization is truly a great victory of the revolution. I think it is a superior step the revolution has taken. It is influencing all sectors. Everyone has adopted the saying: to work with the spirit of a contingent. That slogan is very common. I even heard it at a school: to work here with the spirit of a contingent.

Of course, it will not be easy to apply this same standard to all activities. Much thought must be given to this. A lot of variables must be studied.

I will tell you, however, that the idea of the contingent is being spread to the Artemisa factory—the cement factory—because of the problems that arose there. The Artemisa factory, which was manufacturing around 1,400 tons of cement a day, has increased its production to 1,600. The results became evident, visible, after applying some timid measures there. I also have to tell you that 153 people were more rationally used. There are 153 less people there. This is another principle of the contingent that was applied there. They were not taken out of the factory. They were assigned to the construction of social projects for the factory. They built apartments, etcetera. I told them, take care of it so that when the factory is expanded, these things can be used.

These ideas have been spreading to all sectors. I think that it is of great importance. We do not know how far we can go in this direction. We have a great need to follow this direction because we are confronting the development of the country with less resources than ever, with less resources in convertible currency, with less assurance of supplies from socialist countries.

I said on 26 July that in some countries, very radical changes are being made toward capitalism, for obvious reasons. It must be said. Other countries are making changes because they are having problems.

We need this work spirit more than ever to confront these problems and to grow. Look at the things that have been done. With less resources than ever, we are resolving problems that were not resolved in 30 years of revolution, in almost 30 years. That is how we are proceeding. Havana City is an example of this. How many years had passed since a highway was constructed in this city? The last construction took place during Palmero's time, when he was in (Anillo). Now you see construction everywhere. The Costa Copa highway is under construction. This one is under construction. One was constructed over there, and we are planning on constructing more. We will expand the Boyeros highway, the road that connects 100th Street and Boyeros, the drainage of the Almendares River, which has been going on for years. No one really knows how long that project has been going on. We will soon work on the rotunda to make the outskirts of the Albarran Hospital and the Sports Coliseum into an excellent area. Projects are being started, yes. Work is being started on the aqueduct to reconstruct the network. The double railroad track to Pinar del Rio is also under construction. Railroad tracks are being laid to Mariel. Why were not tracks built to Mariel before, when there were more resources?

Cold-storage plants are being constructed. We are finally constructing more—and with less resources than ever. We are demonstrating that there is still a large reserve of resources, and a large reserve of people. Is there any difference per cubic meter of concrete between making 720 kg of cement and 400 or 420 kg of cement? It is the same! Look at the resources we had there.

We also, for example, have some buses that use a lot of fuel and, in addition, they make the city dirty. That is what we have now but we are developing our automotive industry with better motors. We are developing a bus that we hope will be better and will save more fuel than the ones we have now. These buses have a mileage of 6 km per gallon. Each time that one of those thousands of buses [words indistinct]. We hope that our buses will get 7, 8, or 9 km per gallon, so that our buses can make 30 or 40 percent more trips with the same amount of fuel. There are many places where we can save.

Look at how we wasted lumber and how it was misused. The MICONS made 28 cubic meters per cubic meter of lumber [corrects himself] used 28 cubic meters of concrete per cubic meter of lumber. It is now using 45 cubic meters. We are studying how to double this again using the same lumber in construction. I am not talking about increasing the lumber. You would not be able to save

much more lumber this way. However, in construction where lumber is used so much and in so much quantity, we can triple, quadruple the amount. We would not use any more lumber in construction, and yet we could double the amount of constructions we are doing now.

I am also not referring to lumber used for windows. That pertains to a specific amount. I am referring to lumber that is used in foundries, formworks, everything. We also have more ideas on this but our country can do more with the same resources and this is now being demonstrated.

In agriculture, we are applying new technologies in sugarcane, rice, and irrigation. All this allows us to produce much more. We are constructing dams at a pace we never had before water resource management was applied. No river that can be damed will remain without a dam as long as it can help agriculture. We are working at a very intense pace in this area so that we can irrigate, so that we can produce many more agricultural products, so that we can feed the people—because that is our fundamental objective—and so that we can export some of these items.

With our own land, in our own countryside, with our own workers, we can produce much more. Everyone knows that if one caballeria of land can produce 60,000 hectares of goods with all the work that goes into it, that it would be much better if 100,000 hectares of goods could be produced with the same amount of effort. [sentence as heard] We are heading in this direction in agriculture. I see many possibilities despite the old and new problems.

If we work with this spirit....[changes thought] I think, comrades, that this will help everyone, the people, to understand the unexaggerated importance we have placed on the role of the contingents. I sincerely believe that they are one of the most advanced and promising steps of the revolution. Above all, the contingents have demonstrated the fairness of the ideas that we have stated here. The contingents have demonstrated what it means to believe in the people, to believe in man, and to know what they are capable of doing. [applause] What we were taught, what we were taught [repeats himself] by the patriots that fought for our independence, what our history has taught us, and what we were taught by our own fight to attain Cuba's total independence, shows us that we have the right to create a better world, a more prosperous society [interrupted by applause], a much happier people.

Fatherland or death, we will win!

Haiti

Avril Interviewed on Radio Metropole 25 Sep

FL0610183489 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 2300 GMT 1 Oct 89

[Interview with Lieutenant General Prosper Avril, president of the Haitian military government, by Radio Metropole reporter Michael Norton on 25 September; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Norton] Good evening, Mr President.

[Avril] Good evening, Michael.

[Norton] Already 1 year has gone by: an exhausting year, a year full of promise and full of disappointments, a year that began with relief and ended in anguish with the threat of the imminent arrival of a hurricane. From Henri [Namphy] to [Hurricane] Hugo: a dead year [word indistinct].

Mr President, are you tired of being where you are? Aren't you sick and tired of being everybody's target; all alone, on the forefront of history?

[Avril] All right, well, first of all I have to begin by thanking you very kindly, Mike, for this interview, which you yourself requested. This does not happen often in Haiti, you know—for journalists to ask the chief of state for an interview to find out exactly what is going on! Therefore, I think this very good opportunity should be seized.

As for my being here in this office of president, a position which I have been holding for 1 year already, well, I guess I do not think the word weariness is too strong a word. However, we have sufficient internal, personal resilience to maintain the line we have chosen to follow to save this country.

We came to head this nation's government in September of 1988, without having sought the position. However, we were obliged to gather our courage in our hands and attempt to save the ship of state. I think we have succeeded in doing this, and that is what provides a bit of consolation in this year of anguish, of trials and tribulations, that we have just gone through.

[Norton] The word is not we, it is I, Prosper Avril.

[Avril] Well, it would be nice to say I, Prosper Avril. However, this anguish was endured not only by myself, as Prosper Avril, but also by the members of my family, and so forth. Thus, when I say we, I am referring to my wife, who suffers a lot from the demands patriotism makes on me, etc. She is here, as are the children—who were accustomed to living a very close-knit family life and who, because of the option that their father has chosen, have also had to endure handcuffs, arrests, and all kinds of hardships and shocks, without—in principle—having anything whatsoever to do with what is going on. However, the minute it is a matter of patriotism, well, we were trained to be patriotic. We really could not shirk this task.

[Norton] Yes, innocents always suffer in this country, don't they? Your family is among them.

So, already a year has gone by. You have been head of the government for 1 year. The Presidential Guard, (?thus, sick) of having General Namphy as commander in chief, overthrows him and replaces him with Colonel Avril, whom the Haitian people would not have in 1986 but who, according to the Presidential Guard, is the man for the moment, an honest man, a humane man.

There was also the famous notebook. You listened, took good notes, and promised to carry out the 19 points of a program of reforms: A return to the Constitution, the rehabilitation of the Army, the prosecuting of the massacrers of the Haitian people, and so forth. The spirit of the 17 September movement? A movement toward a rule of law. Have you followed this spirit? Have you incarnated it?

[Avril] Actually, we must begin with the fact that this 17 September movement was realized following the enlisted men's dissatisfaction with the way things were being managed in Haiti, especially regarding the respect for freedom, for the rights of citizens, etc. I was indeed chosen by them. They explained why they had chosen me: because they have known me for a long time and because they knew I was not the man people in the streets were describing.

After serving on the [first] National Government Council [CNG], the minute the Haitian people demonstrated—through certain political leaders, certain groups, and so forth—so as to have the then Col Avril leave the CNG, I quietly stepped down and went about my business as inspector general of the Presidential Guard.

When 17 September came about, the enlisted men made a decision. At that moment not a single citizen stepped forward to contest this decision, which was reached by the soldiers and accepted by the then Gen Avril. Accepting this decision involved much sacrifice for me.

Well, everyone applauded the event. Everyone accepted it.

I myself also said, on several occasions to the press, that I had accepted precisely because the list of the demands or complaints, submitted by the enlisted men, was in harmony with my goals, with my own views.

[Norton] Thus you were hiding throughout the entire reign of the Duvaliers—that is, the Duvalier governments' policy did not reflect your views [esprit]? The 19 points represented you more adequately?

[Avril] Regarding the 19 points, I am going to tell you what they are because I have the impression that people have completely forgotten that these 19 points existed. These points constituted in my notebook, a sort of guide for all the actions I have taken during this year that we, that I, have just been through.

The first point was that they had demanded a change in the lives of the enlisted men. As regards this change, I think there has been a little progress made. Just a little progress, miminal. Why? A change in the lives of the enlisted men means a renovation, or at least a righting of the economic situation first.

We cannot change the lives of enlisted men a whole lot as long as the Haitian people continue to squat in poverty. Thus, we did the best we could to give them a hope that their life is going to change.

They had asked for a different image of the Army in general. They wanted the Army to have different image because, as they said in their proclamation, they could no longer hold their heads up high. They said that all those people who are a discredit to the uniform, etc., in the Army had to be cleaned up. I need not go into this matter at length. Everyone is aware of the energetic action I took to accomplish this, which led to many events in this country.

The elimination of paramilitary forces: We have eliminated the paramilitary forces.

Strict control of the security cards: There are not any more.

Insurance for the members of the Haitian Armed Forces [FADH]: We did our best to provide the enlisted man, the wife and children, with health insurance.

Separation of the police from the Army and modernization of the police: It is these two points that we have not yet been able to implement, because you need money to do so. You need an entirely new structure in order to do this. In a nation with a budget deficit and so forth, we have not been able to put into practice this willingness on our part to implement this. Nevertheless, we are, at present, restructuring the Army, in order to try to modernize the police.

Corruption to be fought within the administration: This was also one of the soldiers' complaints. We have also set about trying to accomplish this task—trying, to the extent that our means permit, to renew the cadres little by little.

Traditional academic studies for the enlisted men: We are doing this. We have made arrangements with the FADH's school to continue to teach the enlisted men.

A mess [preceding word in English] is to be organized for the enlisted men from all organizations. As you know, it is not a mass [messe] but a mess [preceding word in English], which is food for the soldiers. There are soldiers in the organizations who do not eat well. The enlisted men wanted us to give them a kind of allowance for food and so forth. We are going to try to do this for the next fiscal year.

Reestablishing the celebration of the Presidential Guard's anniversary, and instituting an anniversary date for the other organizations: We are trying to do this to increase the esprit de corps, etc. We are going to work on this.

Public banquet for the officers and enlisted men on the occasion of Army and Independence Day: We did this last year. This was the first time Independence Day was celebrated in Haiti with anything more than (?having) the chief of state tour the town, etc. This time there was a ceremony with speeches, receptions, etc. There was a pilgrimage to the statues of the heroes of Haiti's independence.

Housing to be built for the enlisted men: We have begun. Of course, there had been promises to help us but we were sort of dropped along the way. Nevertheless, the project continues and in November, we will have a few units ready for the enlisted men.

The enlisted men asked for the Constitution of 1987 to be amended and then applied. I reinstated the Constitution, shelving only those articles that were incompatible with the existence of a military government.

The Dessalines Barracks civilians to disarm: We do not even need to talk about this. No more detectives! The detectives no longer exist. You must have seen in the press the lists of former detectives who are being asked to bring back the weapons, etc.

Increase in the number of FADH troops to bring relief to the service: Again, this is something we are taking care of. However, we cannot increase the number of troops too much when we must stay within a reduced budget.

Finally, the final word is no more macoutes because the enlisted men are not comfortable with the existence of macoutes.

Everyone seems to have forgotten (?these things). When people talk about this government and draw a balance sheet for it, they do not see that all these complaints were very scrupulously addressed. I do feel that we have made some progress.

[Norton] I am happy to finally see these 19 points before me. Of course, I thought the soldiers of the Presidential Guard had asked that the people responsible for the massacre at Saint Jean Bosco [church] be charged. It looks as if this is not one of the 19 points.

In any case, I asked you if you had incarnated the spirit of the 17 September movement. However, a few days ago you commuted the sentence of Luc Desir, a symbolic gesture viewed by many as a very strange way of incarnating the spirit of reform.

[Avril] All right, well, we at the helm of the ship of state do not want to employ—how can I put it? —a double standard in applying presidential decisions. We looked at the list of sentenced people and—precisely—I did not want to set a case aside for purely sentimental reasons. The case you have pointed out here, well, this gentleman must be over 70—72 or 73—years old. I do not see how shortening his sentence from life to 30 years means a whole lot! In any case, what we wanted was to continue to remain above the fray.

We are above the fray. We are not going to accuse or punish any one group to the detriment of such and such other group. [sentence as heard] In order to bring the nation's affairs to a successful conclusion, the chief of state must place himself above the fray. We tried to express this wish. [sentence as heard] We cannot not take into account all the components that make up Haitian society.

[Norton] On the other hand, neither can you fail to be aware of the way this was perceived by the public.

You speak of a double standard. On 23 May, there was a decree concerning the illegal possession of firearms. As far as I know, this decree was not published in LE MONITEUR [the official gazette] until much later. Perhaps I am mistaken, but I think this was the case.

In any case, meanwhile, Father Occide Jean, also known as Father Zico, was caught with an arsenal and arrested. I think there were confessions. He was released. On the other hand, Max Bourjolly, a politician, a man who must be protected—in fact, perhaps politicians should be given special permits for their bodyguards, etc—was arrested. There is still a charge hanging over his head. How can you explain the double standard in this matter?

[Avril] Well, in all the measures we take, you must also see what the juncture is like when these things come up. When the Father Zico affair occurred, it was much closer to April. The decision was that in order to make short work of certain matters concerning security, these matters would be left to the chief of state. At that time, you must have seen that it was not just a matter of Father Zico but of all those whose action could cause tumult in the social and political life of the nation.

Well, the chief of state intervened, in an attempt to plan, in an attempt to, to [Avril repeats himself] diminish the impact that this was going to create.

In the Father Zico affair, we.... [changes thought] Since it involved a priest, etcetera, we felt that it was not the time to involve the institution—the Catholic Church and all that—in a matter that I could say [rephrases] that could lead to some kind of scandal in the Haitian society, which we consider a very Catholic society, etc.

That was the last intervention, and after that intervention, just a few days later, instructions were issued to the effect that the police and the courts should henceforth follow their normal course in all cases coming before them. That is how it came to happen that (?although).... [changes thought] Even if there were military people involved.... [changes thought] Before this decision, there were soldiers who were, I would say, simply fired for acts committed within this framework of security. However, as of that date, even members of the Armed Forces were surprised by this business of security by being arrested and sent to court.

This business of a double standard is not to be compared with what happened the other day and with the Zico case. [sentence as heard] Rather, it was a case of a limitation being applied. As of such and such period, the chief of state no longer intervened in police matters, and these police matters were to be settled through the courts.

For example, regarding this matter of a decree, everyone knows that there are problems at the National Haitian Presses. However, this decree was also published—as I myself saw—in the papers. However, even if this decree had not existed, there was another, 1986, decree. If one wanted to claim that this decree did not exist, well, even under the 1986 decree, which this decree of 23 May decree merely amends to strengthen the measures.... [changes thought] Well, the 1986 decree also forbade individuals to carry automatic weapons, machine guns

or war weapons. Thus, even here, again, I do not think we have come to the point where we should authorize everyone to possess weapons such as submachine guns and machine guns in private homes. I do not think this would help improve security.

[Norton] Thus, raison d'etat. However, this is interesting because it is a tacit avowal that the Catholic Church was, at a given moment, protecting criminals.

Did the the raison d'etat also now call for the arrest of a Communist?

[Avril] No. I cannot say the Catholic Church was protecting criminals. I cannot say that. I mean, everyone acts according to his own options, his own thoughts. I am not going to accuse the Catholic Church. I too am a practicing Catholic. I know the principles of the Catholic Church. No.

As for the Communist arrested, well, he was sent to court. I do not see what crime the police forces committed by sending someone to court. I really do not see the problem! Or is it that because of the solution that we applied to the Father Zico problem, all Haitians are now authorized to have firearms—weapons of war—at home? Or does this at least mean that all laws regarding the bearing of firearms should be set aside?

I mean, I really do not understand. If we really want to establish security, we cannot say that person A may possess such a weapon but person B may not! There are laws. If you want a weapon, try to get yourself in harmony with the law, so that you can have one. I think this is the solution that will permit us the security that we are seeking for the elections.

[Norton] Your critics have accused you of straying from the spirit of 17 September in two ways. The first is by imprisoning the radical soldiers in mid-October. Then, in November, there was a draft project for an electoral college, the Cedha, which the critics say was authoritarian. Then, as a holiday gift at the end of the year, Franck Romain was given a laissez-passer.

Even though, as I believe, the laissez-passer was indeed granted legally, would it have been illegal to refuse to grant a man who was a threat to national security a laissez-passer, (?in the light of) what happened in April?

In any case, your critics say you are not a democrat.

The second kind of straying from the spirit of the 17 September movement of which you are accused: the agreement signed with the Monte Christi [Corporation] and the redistribution of government lands.

Your critics say that the transition is dragging on and hardening. They say that you do not want to leave power. Is that true? Are you a Duvalierist who wants to save the system of piratical despotism at any cost? Do you really think that you are managing the transition to democracy democratically?

[Avril] Well, from the very beginning of 17 September, we saw... [changes thought] We are talking about the soldiers who participated in a coup attempt around 16 October. Our job here.... [changes thought] I believe—and I believe this firmly—that in order to arrive at democracy, that in order to establish this democracy, we must first of all be able to get a civilian president into the National Palace. All the action we have taken has been taken to that end.

What happened on 16 October? Well, on 16 October, there was a group of soldiers who thought it would be very easy for them to change the government, and to have a government that would please them, or that could execute the favors they were seeking. How did they want to do this? Well, they wanted another overthrow. They denounced (?that) officers (?were plotting) against the government in power—against myself—to create an upheaval and a mutiny in the National Palace courtyard.

It was the enlisted men themselves who expelled these people from the National Palace courtyard. The officers did not intervene. Gen Avril did not intervene. The enlisted men themselves proceeded to arrest these individuals and threw them out.

We again used our wise influence to prevent them from rotting in jail, because we know that we are just a transitional government. Just a transition. Thus, it is not necessary to sentence people just because they did not agree with you or because they harbored ambitions for power. If you harbor an ambition for power, fine. Leave the army and continue to harbor your ambition for power.

Later events proved the truth of this! I mean, the soldiers who participated in that coup attempt, have just formed a political party. They are still seeking to take power. Thus, this means that we had indeed seen—accurately—that these people wanted to take power.

Now, we cannot keep in the Army people who harbor ambitions of taking power, because with such people in the Army, we will never be able to have a democratically elected civilian government take office.

Thus, we also (?had) to effect that cleanup.

As you said, regarding the Franck Romain affair, we had signed international agreements. We had to respect these agreements.

You must not think that we simply woke up one morning having decided to have Franck Romain leave the country. You must be aware of the fact that the embassy exerted pressure on us non-stop. There were letters demanding that the rules of the agreement be applied. There were the lives of the ambassador, of the members of his family, and of the members—which were threatened by the fact that absolutely anything could happen from one moment to the next—to consider.

Now, was a responsible government going to do as was done under Duvalier? Keep people in embassies for 1 or 2 years? Now that is what is called derogating from human

rights! It is not obeying, not carrying out international agreements that constitute violating human rights!

[Norton] But what about cases of circumstances outside one's control? I mean, it seems this man was a threat to national security. Isn't that so?

[Avril] Well, in cases of circumstances outside one's control.... [changes thought] If you examine the agreement, it clearly states that whether or not something constitutes a case of circumstances outside one's control is determined by the country accepting the refugee. The government of the country in which the embassy is located has no right of inspection regarding the nature of the crime committed by the person the embassy has agreed to take in. Therefore, could we violate this international agreement and infringe upon the very attributions of the embassy, which decided that this was a case of political asylum?

Once the embassy has decided that it is a matter of political asylum, there is nothing the local government can say. This is also for the purpose of protecting other citizens! I mean, everyone can well remember how this very principle saved the lives of many people. It is not the current government's place to render fragile this agreement, thus tomorrow preventing someone from obtaining political asylum and saving his life, should such a case occur.

Now, in regard to the CEP [Provisional/Permanent Electoral Council], we have taken action aimed at implanting democracy in Haiti irreversibly—and the CEP is living proof of this. I am going to explain to you why I say this.

We have set up a CEP that is to remain in the country, a CEP that is not like the one formed in 1987, or the one formed for the January 1988 elections. Why did we form the CEP this way?

Everyone talks about the Constitution, Article 149, and so forth. However, people have never really carefully read the articles! For example, following the April coup d'etat.... [changes thought] The constitutional article on the succession speaks of the president of the Court of Cassation. We know that there was a coup, and that following the coup, General Namphy took power. Let us just suppose that we had tried to apply Article 149. What would happen? [brief distortion of recording]

The article states clearly that the election for a new president with a new 5-year mandate must take place within a minimum of 45 and a maximum of 90 days after the position falls open—in conformity with the Constitution and the electoral law. Now, what kind of CEP existed to hold this election in 45-90 days? Thus, we were going to ask the president of the Court of Cassation to remain in power for much longer than the Constitution stipulates.

That is why I, as of the creation of the CEP, took all these measures—organization of the forum, and organization of the CEP the way the majority wanted it—so that there would be a truly credible CEP always present to hold elections. As of that moment, well, I do believe there will not be any more de facto governments, because there will always be a CEP ready to hold elections when necessary.

[Norton] Democracy, democracy. I asked you if you do not think you should [rephrases] if you felt you were really managing the transition to democracy democratically. I have listened carefully to all your speeches. Your definition [appreciation] of democracy is not exactly like mine. In any case, maybe (?it is because) you have never explained your definition at length. In any case, I have never really seen you stress, in these explanations, effective participation by the population in the decisions that affect them.

I often have the impression that for you, democracy means respect for human rights. However, respect for human rights is not a political system. It is something else.

How do you define democracy? You engage in a lot of dialogue, but in private, except for the forum—a forum which was really something exceptional and about which we must talk a little more later.

[Avril] Yes, well, democracy.... [changes thought] For example, we know that it is very difficult to apply all the democratic principles at present because of the fact that there is at this time no legislature representing the Haitian people. However, we have shown our desire to manage this country democratically. I mean, we took it upon ourselves to reinstate the Constitution, so that it could guide us in managing the nation's affairs without really having to improvise. Thus, we have done everything we can to remain within the (?Constitution's) line and to formulate decisions that will be acceptable.

Of course, I realize things are not that easy in Haiti! The decisions a government makes are always argued about. Also, we have had to manage a truly difficult transition. The transition has been difficult. We have had to struggle to maintain stability. You remember very well the incidents of 2 April, which resulted in clashes between members of the Armed Forces, and so forth. I mean, the entire month of April (?to) May was full of jolts and tumult. The nation was practically (?up in arms) from the economic point of view! I mean, it really is not easy to manage things to everyone's satisfaction. Nevertheless, we did start a dialogue. However, it turned out to be pretty much a one-way street.

Very rarely do I find anyone asking to come here to see me. Those who come here are people I have summoned. When I ask someone to come, he usually does. However, it is not easy to receive.... [changes thought] Apart from, of course, (?people from the general public)... [brief fadeout] people from the (?little people) here, who come to submit complaints, etc. However, the true political class—and I might add even the journalists—well, they do not ask for interviews, they do not seek to know.... [changes thought] The very fact that you asked me for an interview is something.... [4-second fadeout] I want to

express myself, I have time; so I call and ask for an interview. Sometimes National Haitian Television calls me to ask if it would not be a good idea to have an interview. (?Or) I call them and they come over. However, I must say that I had expected a much greater opening up to dialogue—even from the political leaders. When the government does something they do not understand, well, I am always open. They could have written me, or called and asked to be received to obtain explanations. Then I would have seen exactly what it was that they did not understand. Perhaps I would have then gathered many more leaders to perhaps organize other forums. Why do not they ask me for a forum?

[Norton] We will come back to this, as this is very interesting. Let us engage in a bit of dialogue on dialogue, because this is perhaps going to lead us to a better understanding of what I meant by managing the transition to democracy democratically.

A different style! It is not a matter of your intentions but a matter of style, which we perhaps envision differently. Dialogue. What is dialogue?

You have said a number of interesting things: the matter of electing the section chiefs, for example. Well, they have decided not to elect them, for the time being. OK. It nevertheless remains an interesting idea. Or the matter of the Office for the Protection of the Citizenry, and even the business of the land distribution, (?and) the Monte Christi affair! People say it is crooked but it is still a way to develop the country. It is perhaps interesting. However, the problem is that all these things sort of fall from the skies—skies that people suspect of belonging to a well-meaning despot. I mean, no open, transparent dialogue takes place prior to these things. Thus, all these positive things that you do, instead of making you more popular, instead serve only to increase suspicion. This country is full of suspicion, isn't it!

Dialogue, dialogue. It is one thing to talk to people who parade by you, all day long. However, a real dialogue, in a democratic country, is a dialogue that takes place within a structure. The forum is a beautiful example of this!

Dialogue is open to the public in a public space. Why don't you call in—summon—the politicians to come and shoulder their responsibilities? You have the best role, that of awaiting them. However, you can also summon them in to shoulder their responsibilities, to hold a forum on the matters of greatest importance.

The economy is collapsing and you are taking measures. It is your right to do so. However, the content of these measures comes forth (?in) a despotic form!

[Avril] The problem is, we started a dialogue, right? I think we will be marching in place if we have to gather everybody and hold a forum before every decision we make. In fact, if you will recall, the legislative chamber—which was a well-established, well-structured body that functioned according to regulations and according to established norms—well, we saw this legislative chamber function under President Manigat's government. However, nobody seems to have noticed that President Manigat spent 4 months in power and managed to put out only one law, the law creating 14 ministries. Not even these ministries' organic laws were voted on during his 4 months and some odd days in power.

Of course, his was meant to be a definitive government. Perhaps he had all the time in the world to implement laws, establish structures, etc. However, I think that in order to organize a transition to democracy, things have to go faster.

We did hold the forum for the CEP. However, we should also point out that this was the very foundation for the establishment of the democratic principle. Even if it had had to go on for a year, I wanted the institution that was to come out of this to have the approval of everyone. That is why I put out my draft decree for the creation of this institution in November. The institution was not formed until 23 February. It took 3 months of work to get it done. I was happy to do it, because there, well, no one could come and say that the CEP was not a proper institution.

However, I continued to open up the dialogue. Certain subjects.... [changes thought] In my opinion, if the political class was really (?aware and willing) to use dialogue, it seems to me that they could have suggested meeting to discuss certain matters. Am I, as chief of state, supposed to propose to people who get agitated over the radio all the time and who criticize each and every one of the government's decisions, well, am I supposed to invite them to a forum—a forum to which they might refuse to come— and thereby create a situation? If the idea of forming a gathering in order to discuss certain matters is a good one, and if it really exists, why does this have to be a one-way street?

[Norton] Because it is you, and not they, who are managing the transition! Hence, it is your responsibility, and not theirs.

Let us talk about the forum on the CEP. I find the unfolding of this story very interesting because there was a proposal from the government—the Cedha, right? The electoral college?

No one liked the proposal. They found it authoritarian. OK. You saw this, and since no one liked it, you said: OK. Propose something.

You opened the way to a dialogue and you summoned the representatives of the political class and the civic organizations to a forum, because this was a matter of major importance. So what happened? It was contested. There were even some regrettable slipups: the arrest of several politicians—Rockefeller Guerre and Sylvain [first name as heard] Jolibois. OK. Nevertheless, despite these protests and these terrible mistakes, it was a positive thing. It was a success. It did indeed unblock the situation!

Now there is a very big economic crisis. There are two problems: the political crisis and the economic crisis. Why didn't you summon the political class and the civic organizations to discuss the measures to be taken in this crisis? What did you have to lose? Could they have refused to talk to you? Otherwise, there is a lack of credibility, credibility that is dwindling daily. What is at stake? The very success of the transition to democracy! It is you who are responsible for managing this.

[Avril] Well, regarding the economic crisis, you should know that everything went very very fast. It is not a crisis that gave us enough time to gather the political class so as to reach decisions together. I mean, as of the beginning of September, the decision had to be made as to whether or not we were going to maintain the agreements with the International Monetary Fund, and whether or not we were going to continue with the World Bank and all those institutions, (?upon which) the agreements that the government signs (?with the IMF are binding).

I mean, we were pressed for time, and I do not think it would have been possible to get a consensus on this matter within a week or two. It would have taken months. Not only would it have taken months, but also the solution they would have come up with would have been for us to abandon the IMF. This would have been a decision with very serious consequences. So, the government had to shoulder its responsibilities, and I do not think we made a mistake. I mean, we know very well that the current economic situation is not really due to poor management but is, rather, the consequence of everything this country has had to go through over the past 3 years. We have just been through 3 years of disorder, demonstrations, strikes, coups d'etat, military clashes, etc. Thus it is the consequences of all these things that we have had to manage.

With this said, however, it is never too late to hold a forum. However, what are we seeing? Mostly invectives! Nobody has asked to engage in dialogue! Now that the government is facing this particular kind of crisis, which pretty much calls for concerted action, which calls for unity among all the components of the Haitian society to solve the problem, what we are seeing is, instead, that the nation is being ravaged by factions.

I mean, everyone surely must be aware of the fact that if we did not want to do anything about the economic crisis, well, it would be easier for us to do nothing, since all we are doing is preparing the transition to democracy.

There is the electoral calendar, which we knew was going to be put out at any moment! We are not.... [changes thought] Nobody even noted that we did not interfere with the calendar proposed by the CEP. Thus, this means that we are going to work to effect this transition. However, can we just sit there and manage irresponsibly? No, we cannot!

[Norton] On 14 December 1988, the government signed five international agreements on human rights. Yet human rights violations are committed unceasingly, and they are often committed by members of the Armed Forces. You are the head of a de facto government with powers—and therefore responsibilities—which exceed those provided for in the Constitution. What is actually being done to put an end to the barbarity?

[Avril] The very fact that we signed these agreements and that we support the ideas in these agreements with all our force shows our desire to have human rights respected.

[Norton] On the very day that you signed the agreements, I remember that a group of soldiers thrashed citizens (?while) looking for an alleged murderer. Do you remember that?

[Avril] Not really, but you know, when one is at the very summit of the government, one cannot (?always anticipate) what (?may happen) all the way down at the bottom. However, we do want to have human rights respected, and instructions have been issued to stop this kind of thing in Haiti. Now, when such things happen, the person doing that kind of thing knows very well that he will be punished. He will be punished.

You must have heard recently, Mr Bourjolly, who had just been arrested, say that there were a number of soldiers in jail. These are not soldiers who committed political violations. Rather, many of them committed human rights violations and so forth. They are awaiting trial for the acts they committed. I mean, we are cleaning up the military institution. You must not forget that there are certain habits that need to be extirpated from the institution. We have buckled down and begun doing this. We are continuing.

[Norton] The other day, in front of the tribunal of Port-au-Prince I believe, the defendant—an alleged murderer—was killed by a soldier. This soldier was thrown out of the Army. Is he in jail or was he merely discharged?

[Avril] No, he.... [changes thought] That is what our military code stipulates. He has been discharged to be sent to court, as stipulated by the Constitution. He is to appear before an ordinary [as opposed to military] court.

[Norton] You do know that prisoners are usually beaten in jail? One enters, and if one is not somebody, one is beaten. This is the normal procedure. Often one is beaten and more! You do know that, don't you?

[Avril] Well, in these cases, I know that it is not normal to beat the prisoners, as you say. However, you should also know that we have taken measures to really transform the prisons into the kind of establishment stipulated in the Constitution. There is a decree that has already been discussed in the council of ministers that will issued any time now—if it has not been issued already! This decree will organize the national penitentiary system, which is going to be managed according to prison norms that [rephrases] the way it is done in all other countries of the world.

[Norton] When I ask these questions, I have something in mind, at a personal level, because I see that you are

indeed a humane person, [laughs] like the men of the Presidential Guard say. I mean, you were on the scene during the entire harsh Duvalier period: Fort Dimanche, the murders, the acts of torture, the barbarity.

What the hell were you doing among the devils, Mr President!?

[Avril] [laughs] To this question.... [changes thought] What I see in this matter.... [changes thought] One must not.... [changes thought] I think that in regard to this matter, there have to be people who—how can I put it? If one harbors, deep within oneself, the idea of doing good, well, one must be everywhere, in order to do good. It is precisely because I have always done good things, it is because I have always protected, always helped, that I have come to be where I am right now. I mean, if everyone had abandoned ship, there would not, at present, be any ship. That is all I can say about this matter.

[Norton] Indissolubly linked to 17 September is 11 September, the massacre of innocents at Saint Jean Bosco Church, the horror and the infamy to which your coming to power provided some relief. However, there are numerous dates of horror and infamy: 26 April [1986 Fort Dimanche incident], 23 July, 29 July, 29 November [1987, election day massacre], and many others. Last 10 April [press conference following attempted coup], I was moved by your emotion, by your refusal to once again contemplate a policy of horror and infamy. It was a matter of members of the Armed Forces, [you said], and the military are men, our brothers.

You have never had the opportunity to make any kind of statement regarding the fate of the innocent victims of 11 September, 29 November, 29 July, 23 July, 26 April, and many many more such dates.

The massacrers are walking around free, unpunished. Have the massacred been forgotten?

[Avril] OK, well, I am not saying.... [changes thought] No one can forget incidents so traumatic to the society. However, is it a nation's chief of state who personally goes seeking everyone who should or should not be tried? [sentence as heard]

We are currently in a traumatizing situation, a crisis situation. I think that there is a lot to be done, to be done with wisdom, with ponderation, with—how could I put it? —with perspicacity.

We tried to take this chance, tried to reactivate the investigating committee, but this did not work. If we had been helped to reactivate the investigating committee, if we had been allowed to reopen the dossiers.... [changes thought] I mean, you know this is a dossier that has already been examined closely by people who are the representatives of the Court of Cassation, etc.

However, is it up to the government; or rather, up to the chief of state to persist in bypassing the law to solve problems? I think that it is the institutions that should solve the problems!

[Norton] However, you know full well that everything comes from you! The Justice Department needs support. The judiciary does nothing unless specifically ordered to do something. That is the way things work, here. You know that full well!

[Avril] I do know. That is why I attempted a profound reform of the court system. I am trying to take things up again, so that the judges that we now have can buckle down to their job of dispensing justice. I do believe that without such a restructuring, without such a reform of the judiciary, we will always end up with the same old thing. I mean, you must not think it is just a matter of political things. Even in regard to criminal justice, drug traffickers, even.... [changes thought] At all levels.... [changes thought] The judiciary cannot do its job properly. The situation is such that it traumatizes people. The judges are afraid to take a chance. It is not the words of a chief of state, in fact not words at all, that are going to change this! What is important is that there be a progressive restoration of confidence that will permit the judges and the body of the Public Prosecutors to do their jobs properly. Nothing will work as long as there continues to be intervention by the executive in the affairs of the judiciary.

Therefore, I think that the first thing to do is to bolster the independence of the judges, to give them the supportive framework they require to fulfill their mission. This is the only way we will be able to solve this kind of problem—whether it is a matter of political crime, ordinary crime, or anything else that occurs throughout Haiti.

[Norton] Meanwhile, I should conclude that the Haitian people have been indeed forgotten?

[Avril] I would not say the people have been forgotten, because all the actions we take here at the National Palace are taken with the Haitian people in mind—otherwise our presence here would make no sense! The people have not been forgotten.

However, the people know that we are traversing a crisis that is affecting all the nation's institutions. All of them—whether it be the Army, the church, the judiciary, the administration—all the institutions are affected! There cannot be an ideal situation, in which everything is taken care of, while we are in the process of bolstering these institutions! Our work of bolstering these institutions is aimed, precisely, at being able to initiate a system capable of responding to the people's aspirations.

[Norton] In February of 1986, the dictatorship's dictatorial principle was taken from it. However, the dictatorship continues, in other forms, even though they may be liberal forms. A dictatorship without a dictator. This is the absurdity of a country that cannot seem to choose its only alternative to death: democracy.

Two weeks before a national conference on poverty, the government decrees measures that all, absolutely all the nation's economic factors criticize as being detrimental to the masses and conducive to poverty. How can such incoherence be explained?

[Avril] Well, 7 February did get rid of the dictatorship. I feel that since 11 September, under my government, I cannot say that Haiti is living under a dictatorship. If dictatorship means the presence of the three branches of government, then I could say yes. However, if dictatorship means acts committed against the people, I would say no, because the government's political will is present. It is the structures that must be improved, so that the population will feel even freer.

You must have seen that.... [changes thought] I do not know if you were here during the dictatorship, but under our government, freedom of the press and freedom to circulate, well, all these things are guaranteed, ensured.

Some 15 days before our conference on poverty, you did indeed see that the government was forced to take certain measures. However, you must also be aware of the fact that a government sometimes finds itself with its back against the wall, and is really obliged to take measures. Sometimes, in order to save what can still be saved, one must make sacrifices and restore the nation's image.

You must have noticed, for example, that we have a big problem, at present. There is not even any bread. What is going on?

Well, the government made a superhuman effort and accepted a PL-480 contract that was to provide us with wheat. What happened? Well, the first shipment arrives and the wheat is not the kind of wheat our flour mill is accustomed to grinding.

We are not going to accuse anybody, but, well, let us just say the Haitian people have no luck! The wheat that arrives cannot be processed by our mill. So, we start using the reserves on hand, hoping the second ship will arrive as scheduled on 20 September. However, again, the second ship does not come in. There is talk of difficulties with the motor, etc. The arrival of the second ship is then rescheduled for 28 September.

Meanwhile, the government, which is confronting a lack of foreign currency, has to go around looking for foreign currency to import flour to distribute to the bakeries. Then what happens? The ship that was to arrive last Thursday or Friday is delayed because of Hurricane Hugo! Once again it is the Haitian masses who are, as always, affected. [preceding sentence in Creole] So now we are informed that this ship, previously to have arrived on the 28th, will be arriving on 3 October.

When a government undergoes all these things.... [changes thought] I am not accusing anyone of doing this on purpose. However, maybe it would have been better for everyone to, together with the government, review the events. However, instead of doing this, there was confrontation, altercations, etc.

However, I feel the Haitian people are a very resistant people. Sooner or later, we will understand exactly what is going on, and we will get through this (?difficult moment).

[Norton] Consequently, it is the masses, the poor, those in absolute poverty who are in fact going to pay the bill for years and years of poor management, of government piracy! It is they who are going to have to pay this bill; whereas other measures could have been envisioned—austerity measures yes, but not only government austerity measures. For example, taking legal action against those who stole from the government could have been envisioned, or confiscating the property of the Duval.... [changes thought] Even here, in Haiti, I do not think their property has been confiscated. I think they were merely looted, etc.

We are facing a strike. A strike. Do you expect the Haitian people to simply cross their arms and just sit on their (?duffs) [preceding word in Creole, "tchouboum", which normally means a turbulence of an unspecified kind]?

[Avril] I cannot talk about government piracy because we are watching to see that this kind of thing does not happen in the public administration. There have indeed been, [repeats himself] there have been—how could I put it—excesses in hiring. Certain administrations have indeed seen a superabundance of employees—who we are going to try to sponge up little by little. We have a plan to distribute these people, channel them into other activities which the government will soon be creating. Thus, it is at that level that there is a kind of mismanagement [preceding word in English] which they [not further identified] say is preventing resources from really being channeled to where they should be being channeled. This is because of the surplus of employees that certain administrations were obliged to have subsequent to this crisis. There is a lot of pressure from the grassroots, who are looking and asking for work and so forth.

Thus, it is not a problem at the level of piracy. It is rather, a problem at the level of management. We have buckled down to taking care of it.

In regard to the other measures, well, the measures we have taken are not the only measures that we are going to take. We are also going to take other measures in the direction of what you are saying to try to lighten the burden on the underprivileged.

Regarding the property of the Duvaliers, there again, this situation too has played a part in the current state of affairs. I mean, as you must know, the government had already, before 17 September, agreed to pay $3 million in foreign currency in connection with the search for these funds. I think that we could have been in a better position if these $3 million had not been spent. On the other hand, can we afford not to spend in an attempt to

repatriate the Duvaliers' money? All these things constitute choices that have to be made. They are choices that deserve to be analyzed in depth. In connection with this matter, I would perhaps like to launch the idea of holding a forum—a forum to see how the masses are going to react, to see how the political class present at the forum would react upon studying (?this kind of) dossier, where more of the Haitian people's money goes and goes and goes, perhaps chasing after a hypothetical fortune, after a fortune that will perhaps never make it into the state coffers.

[Norton] Are you saying you would be willing to call on people to make proposals to confront the economic crisis? So that you would not be all alone in making these decisions? So that other kinds of proposals could be made?

[Avril] But that is my policy! It is my policy to ask questions! Although I did not do it publicly, do not go thinking I took all these measures without having consulted many people!

[Norton] Once again, democracy is a public activity. It is in a public space that.... [changes thought] I mean, actually the social dialogue does not take place tete-a-tete, as I am sure you will agree—that is, the social dialogue is a forum, where everyone is called upon to express himself, to take a stand, and to make proposals to the government.

I am sure that you would not find yourself in the situation you are in now—with a serious loss of credibility! [sentence as heard]

[Avril] Yes, I understand very well what you are saying, and I would be willing to do it. However, the latest (?situation) we just went through left no latitude for doing such a thing. I mean, we had gotten to.... [changes thoughts] All this, this big deficit that we ran up occurred after the April events.

Up until April, everything was going well—more or less. We had programs implemented that were going to absorb what was preventing us from meeting our obligations to the Fund. We were going to absorb them. [not further identified]

However, then the April events occurred, and we ran up a big deficit from April to the end of May. It was in June (?that) the figures began showing up. When I saw these figures—in June—I personally, immediately wrote the minister of economy and finance to tell him: Watch out. Here is what I have seen.

By mid-July, we were already taking measures. As you know, it takes a bit of time to make economic measures effective. Then, in August, it was already time for the IMF presentation. (?The IMF) said: Here it is. The tribunal [corrects himself] the case of Haiti is going to be presented. You have to negotiate and re-negotiate immediately.

All this happened very fast! I mean, it is not something where we have a lot of latitude and can say: Well, we have this situation, and we are going to hold a forum, etc! No. We had to act fast. All of this had to be in place by 1 October, in order for us to know if we were going to set out again or if we were going to choose another path!

Nevertheless, it is not too late to do have a forum. Of course, there is talk of reaching decisions against the agreement. It is no longer possible to reach any decisions against the agreement! The agreement has been signed. The money has even been paid out to the government—the $11 million, etc. Also, it has even been announced that the $26 million has been granted. Thus, there is no longer any point in talking about this.

If we really want to solve the economic problem, we should be able to meet and work at strengthening the Haitian economic system, eliminating the sources of the under-invoicing that goes on, helping to eliminate losses due to contraband, increasing the amount of money collected by the DGI [Direction Generale des Impots, General Tax Directorate], etc.

There, I am open to all suggestions. I mean, I could hold a meeting to obtain ideas!

[Norton] However, there is the strike. A strike because many people, many organizations, think we could have perhaps negotiated differently with the IMF. They feel that other kinds of measures (?could have been taken), so that the Haitian people will not continue to pay the debts of those who stole from them for years. What about the strike?

[Avril] Well, I do not exactly see the goal of this strike. I mean, we have already signed the IMF contract. Can there be a strike to say that we could have signed a different contract? No.

Now, I think that before deciding to call this strike, they should have written the government to request what Haitians refer to as a "shita-tande" [Creole expression the literal meaning of which is "a sit-down-and-listen," usually translated as "meeting"]. We could have had a nice meeting, at the palace or wherever, to hear the suggestions and to solve the problem together.

[Norton] Alas, the problem is the following, Mr President: The measures were taken, but the government's communication with the population was conducted in an extremely odd manner. There were suspicions, leaks, and the memorandum. People knew, but yet did not know. Why wasn't there frankness from the very beginning? I mean, as soon as the date drew near, why not do things openly, transparently? That is what I mean when I say that the style of the dictatorship perhaps continues. The style continues!

[Avril] No. There have always been agreements signed. There have always been fiscal and monetary agreements in Haiti. To this day we are still signing them with France, Germany, the European Economic Community, and so forth. Never have we thought it necessary to say: OK, well, in order to change this comma, we must

consult the population. I mean, if this were to be the case, it would really make handling and managing these things very difficult!

We received a memorandum from the IMF, which did not at all come out the way it was presented. Ah no! I mean, we did what we thought it possible for us to do.

Of course, speculation occurred. There were untimely price increases, which are not in harmony with the decisions we made.

For example, when the decisions increase (?the price of) things in customs by only 3 or 4 percent, I do not see why there should be a price increase of 30 percent, or 20 percent, or 15 percent! There is always commerce conducted.... [changes thought] Where certain merchants excessively increase prices. There again, we must call on the structures of the Ministry of Commerce to continue trying to struggle and struggle.

I have received a report from Europe, for example, concerning the shipping of coffee and cacao, in which we can sometimes see—as in 1987 for example—that there is under-invoicing of almost three times the value! The figures are exorbitant. For example, when the amount shown is $8 million being shipped from Haiti, and yet the EEC receives for $22 or $23 million, well, that is what is really killing the Haitian people! It is not simply because 3 percent was added to the customs duties. As you know, the entire customs tariff was changed in 1986, precisely because we knew that the U.S. Government was going to (?lend us some money, which was going to be added) to the budget. This means that, if you examine our current customs tariff, you will see that some 60-70 percent of the products are exempt from customs duties. Nobody has ever gone and taken a look at this! The duties on certain products, such as vehicles and all that, have been rolled back to 20 percent. Whereas before, for example, the duties on Mercedes were 150 percent.

We have to work all these things out. Now, one does not come up with a customs tariff in a single day. As soon as certain things have been regularized, we will be able to relax other things. We absolutely had to find the money to start this year, from the point of view of the nation's economic base.

[Norton] Up to now, Haiti has had two kinds of elections: the repressed elections of 29 November and the rigged elections of 17 January. The Army's role in the repression and in the rigging is clear.

Insecurity is at an all-time high. Cite Soleil is terrorized. People's organizations—for example, the People's National Assembly, the Labadie Youth Movement, the Comme Il Faut Cooperative Action Group, the Star of Life [Etoile de la Vie, said to be a Catholic youth organization], the National Committee of the Congress of Democratic Movements, and the Communist Party—are the targets of aggression. Gregory Delpe has been murdered. Are we heading with the complacency, if not complicity, of the Army toward minority elections? This means elections that are honest and unfettered and [words indistinct]?

[Avril] No. Hold on a minute, no. [laughs] For these elections.... [changes thought] That is why I think we have a lot of work to do. The first thing that had to be done was to really take the Army back in hand. All these things were not really in harmony with the (?way) the economic situation (?looked).

We are hoping to, next year.... [changes thought] I told you this will be a year of work, political debate, and elections. We think that if we can really find a way to put the Haitian people to work and a way to maintain the structure of the Army, we are going to solve these problems.

Anyway, I am sure it is not going to be like 29 November or 17 January because, first of all, in reference to what happened on 29 November, we are going to have enough time to condition the Army, to make it into an institution in the service of democracy and development. Now, regarding what happened on 17 January, well, we are going to stay out of things. This CEP is really an independent CEP, chosen by people from the political associations. Therefore, I do not think there are any doubts about this.

I just hope we will be able to find sufficient means to put people back to work and to finalize—successfully carry out—our task of restructuring the Haitian Armed Forces.

[Norton] The election calendar has just been made public. Did you accept the CEP's recommendations as submitted? Didn't you yourself make any changes?

[Avril] We have always said it. Nobody has ever believed it, but we have always said, and maintained, that there were no changes made whatsoever to this calendar. None whatsoever. Not even a comma was changed.

The calendar was presented officially in the morning, at around 1030 or 1100. By 1500 or 1600, National Haitian Radio was already broadcasting the calendar, and by evening it was already on television. All this is to show our willingness to do things (?and) to maintain the CEP's independence.

Our task now is to provide the CEP with: first, the money it needs to function; and second, the security that both the CEP and the population need to participate in the elections.

[Norton] It is said that you put out the calendar to defuse the strike.

[Avril] [sputters, then laughs] First of all, you must know that, at the level of the population, I do not think it is a strike that.... [changes thought] When the Haitian people participate in this kind of thing, it is out of fear that some kind of trouble might break out in the streets, etc. The population does not really participate in these kinds of things, which are not going to lead to anything. We

cannot have put the calendar out to defuse something like this. We put the calendar out as we had promised to do, in keeping with the commitment we made to respect the CEP's decisions.

The CEP gave us a calendar. We did not want to give the impression that we were studying it to see if we should change it or not.

We were given the calendar. I gathered my ministers to say: Here is the calendar. We are going to publish this calendar.

They were informed and the calendar was published.

We did this with no purpose in mind other than to show that we have respected our commitments, kept our word.

[Norton] You are going to be in power for another 16 months—16 months with credibility problems. How? How are you going to stay in power?

[Avril] Well, I think this credibility is going to be reestablished progressively, because actually, each thing I do, well, no one expected to see it done. This loss of credibility is due not to me personally but rather to the past. They were fooled well before I came on the scene—fooled and traumatized. Thus, they still expect the same thing to happen again.

Now, as time goes by, they will see that what I say is true, that I am sincere. Credibility will be restored.

In regard to the government, well, everyone knows that I have no problems with listening to advice or suggestions from others. As soon as they come to me with suggestions, they will see that Gen Avril is exactly what he says he is—and not something else.

[Norton] Thus, a civilian government is going to take over the reins of power and you are going to step down. Are you going to retire or will you remain commander in chief of the Armed Forces? In any case, what do you see as being the role of the Army under a rule of law? Is it necessary to continue to purge the undesirable elements from the Army, while applying the constitutional articles that stipulate how the Army should be structured? Is your Army grassroots holding you hostage, as certain people claim?

[Avril] Well, for me, the future.... [changes thought] I have not yet made any decisions on this. I have not yet really sat down and thought about this, absorbed as I am in trying to make the transition to democracy a success.

The Army is the foundation of this success. Success is going to depend on what role the Army plays, even after these elections.

Why do I say this? This is because the Army must work to ensure that the people can go to elections, work to provide the necessary security. We are going to structure the Army in such a way as to enable it to handle this task.

Now, there is indeed, as you say, the cleanup. We are almost finished. This has perhaps been a.... [changes thought] I will not say a disappointment but I admit we had thought the people would approve of the idea of having the population choose the Army grassroots—the section chiefs. OK, well, since according to the CEP's poll this is not possible, we are going to continue to appoint them the way we are doing at present.

At present, what we do is sound out the population to know who to propose, whenever a section chief has shown himself to be outside the path we have traced and the population—meaning the peasants—is not happy with him. We are going to keep doing it this way.

However, our intention was to bring the Haitian people closer to their Army, as well as to bring the Army closer to the population. That is why we thought there should be a bond of some kind between the section chief and the population to harmonize things. We are attempting to maintain this harmony despite this apparent rejection of our idea of having the population elect the section chiefs.

Now, after the section chiefs come the (?heads of the) subdistricts, the (?heads of the) outposts, the enlisted men, etc. We know that there are both bad and good soldiers, just as there are good and bad priests, good and bad administrators, and so forth. This is true all over.

We are going to work at shaping up the Army. We have already begun this work and everyone can see this. Of course, as you surely know, it certainly is not the press that is going to say so! So, [laughs] we....[leaves sentence unfinished]

[Norton] You increased the Presidential Guard by a few hundred troops. However, people are wondering why you did not increase the number of police troops instead, since they provide security for the population rather than for the chief of state. Why did not you ask international donors for the vehicles, walkie-talkies, and so forth for ensuring the security that we lack here in Haiti?

[Avril] Well, first of all I must remove the impression that we have increased the Presidential Guard. We have not increased the Presidential Guard. What we have done is fill vacancies. Actually, the Presidential Guard must have at least 300 or 400 vacancies because you must remember that when this kind of traumatic event occurs within a given, or several, Army units.... [changes thought] The soldiers entered the Army on a 3-year or 5-year contract. Thus, at the expiration of this 5-year contract, some of them say: Ah, I am not going to renew my contract. We had a lot of people leave the Army that way. These people had to be replaced.

Therefore, this is not an increase in the number of troops. It is a filling of vacancies. Also, this is not being done just in the Presidential Guard. It is being done in the Army in general. There has been police recruiting too. However, since it takes some time for the (?recruits) to be ready.... [changes thought] The police have no yard so they cannot recruit at Police Headquarters. Recruiting

is currently going on at the Leopards camp, which now houses the Haitian Armed Forces School of Instruction, where recruits for the police and all other corps are prepared.

That then, is the truth of this matter.

Now, concerning the police's lack of equipment, you must not think we did not ask. We asked several international and even national agencies. Surely you remember, for example, that the few vehicles the police have at present were purchased for them or donated by certain businesses in the capital. Thus, we have done the best we can. However, our communications system was destroyed (?on) 7 February 1986. Hence, this requires money. We are of course going to seek money to invest (?in order to) increase security.

[Norton] You have the reputation of being reserved. Nevertheless, I think I have seen you unveiled at least twice.

The first time was during your inspection of the Military Academy. Over National Haitian Television, I saw you seize a cadet's rifle, and the force and precision of your look made me tremble. Mr President, you are a soldier. You rub elbows with death.

The second time was during an interview by Anaise Chavenet. I do not remember what question she asked you—an intelligent one, I am sure. However, I remember very well an aside in your answer. In Creole, you said: Success is indeed my forte.

And I understood (?that) you are a man of the world. You are accustomed to handling both people and money.

During your April press conference, I think I caught a glimpse of a third facet. Having come from the masses, you could have been popular. Since you are a man of dialogue, you (?must have) chosen to be reserved. Why was your address to the nation on the occasion of the 1st anniversary of the 17 September movement made in French and not Creole?

[Avril] Hmm. Well, if I may begin with the latter point, I made the address to the nation in French because I had just granted an interview in Creole the night before that summed up everything that was in the speech I made in French. Thus, the contact with the masses had already been established, the day before. So, if I had had to translate my speech, it would have been a repetition of what I had already said the night before.

Now, you saw.... [changes thought] You noticed—I had not realized you followed what I do that closely! [returns to first thought] that inspection of cadets at the Military Academy. As you probably know, the Military Academy is my Alma Mater, and when I was there, I was the commander, the cadet captain of the class. I have remained just as upright as when I was a cadet at the Military Academy. That is why.... [changes thought] I also talked, with Anaise, about success and about the fact that a soldier is always ready to face danger. That is what allows me to remain here where I am with a cool head. This is what allows me to not derail into what is called dictatorship: into violence. It is what keeps me from doing regrettable things out of fear of reprisals.

Let me tell you, more often than not, dictators are dictatorial because they are afraid. This is the nature of dictators. They are afraid of being uprooted, of being slaughtered, of losing power, of everything.

I myself need not fear losing power because I do not need to be in power. Here, where I am now, I am not doing anything with this power except trying to get my country back into the democratic line, the only path that will permit this country to develop.

However, I am a soldier, a soldier who sees things a particular way. I see that my country is running up against a number of ambitions. When I say ambitions, I mean ambitions of all kinds. It is not just those in power, people in the government, whose ambition it is to make themselves rich, to sticking their hands into the state coffers.... [changes thought] I mean, one can steal from the state in different ways, you know. One can be an administrator and steal from the state coffers. One can also be a taxpayer and steal from the state coffers! That is why I was talking to you a while ago about this business of under-invoicing, which I consider very serious. I mean, I have the figures I sent for. Just imagine! For example, this report shows that in 1986 the EEC imported coffee from Haiti for a total of 22,298,941 dollars [corrects himself] I mean gourdes. Yet, the figure given us here in Haiti is only 7,753,725 gourdes. What happened to the 15-million-gourde difference? Nobody knows! This 15 million did not enter Haiti. It stayed in banks abroad. I mean, people always point the finger at the leaders, but they never point the finger at those whose duty it is to fill [rephrases] to permit the state coffers to come to the aid of the poor.

The same thing goes for cacao. In 1987, Haiti's cacao exports allegedly totaled 6,667,648 gourdes. However, the EEC figures show (?10.8) million. This means.... [changes thought] This is what we mean by under-invoicing. This is what we are trying to find a solution to, so that we can increase the nation's foreign currency (?reserves) and all that.

Thus, that is our view of things. We are not afraid. We are never afraid. You must have seen how we managed to get through the 2 April situation. It is not we who got through it. It was the divine hand of Providence that got us through it. We could have been afraid, after that. Well, we are not afraid. We will continue to shoulder our responsibilities, continue to take the action that needs to be taken for the good of the nation.

Nevertheless, we need for there to be unity among all Haitians, unity among all Haitians—whom I will never stop asking to engage in dialogue, to talk to us. Therefore, we are going to continue (?to call for) this dialogue. I hope that after hearing this interview that we have just granted you, people will understand that we are still the

same people, that we do want a dialogue—that we want their ideas too! —to save this country.

[Norton] Mr President, I thank you and I bid you good evening.

[Avril] OK, thanks a lot, Mike. I think that what we are doing here cannot fail to be for the good of Haiti, which we all love. Thank you.

[Norton] Thank you!

Costa Rica

Panamanian Soldiers Enter; Searching Opponents

PA0610221589 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2110 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] San Jose, 6 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Costa Rican opposition deputy Federico Villalobos reported today that 25 armed Panamanian soldiers entered 25 km into Costa Rican territory in search of alleged opponents of General Manuel Antonio Noriega's regime.

Villalobos said that, based on reports and pictures provided by Alberto Fallas, a member of the Rural Police [GAR] stationed in the southern part of the country, "some 25 heavily armed soldiers" arrived on board a Panama Defense Forces [FDP] "helicopter gunship" on 21 September to conduct an alleged tracking operation.

According to the parliamentarian from the Social Christian Unity Party, the leading opposition party, the Panamanians were apparently allowed in by the Costa Rican security authorities which, he said, constitutes a "violation" of the Legislative Assembly rights.

According to Costa Rica's Constitution, the entrance of foreign troops into the country must be authorized by the Legislative Branch.

The alleged operation lasted 5 days, the deputy added in a news conference. He said that pictures of the helicopters and the weapons the Panamanians were carrying, among them "AK-47," "M-60," and "M-66" rifles were sent to GAR Chief Antonio Espinoza.

Moreover, Security Minister Hernan Garron told the media that the operation never existed, although he admitted that in the town of Pavones, some 25 km from the Panamanian border, "an operation was carried out headed by Commander Manuel Vilchez."

He said that the Panamanians may have conducted a similar operation, "but in their territory."

Villalobos demanded that Garron give an explanation regarding this situation.

El Salvador

Archbishop Mediation Could End Embassy Occupation

PA0610182989 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1630 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] San Salvador, 6 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—The mediation of Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas could end the occupation by 20 members of an opposition humanitarian group of the Costa Rican Embassy in San Salvador in the next few hours.

The group belonging to the Federation of Committees of Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Missing, and Murdered People (FECMAFAN) occupied the embassy on 5 October to demand "an end to the government's repressive escalation."

On the evening of 5 October, the Salvadoran prelate visited the building where Costa Rican Ambassador Jesus Fernandez, Consul Humberto Murillo, and First Secretary Luis de Anda are being held hostage to personally assess the situation inside the diplomatic headquarters.

Ambassador Fernandez met with the archbishop on the 1st floor of the "La Centroamericana" Building, which houses the Costa Rican Embassy, but military men did not allow him to reach the 3d floor where embassy offices are actually located.

Rivera y Damas pointed out that "I need to obtain an Army permit to enter the embassy."

Police Deputy Director Colonel Alejandro Sanchez said the conflict could end in the next few hours.

The Armed Forces have ruled out military intervention to evict the embassy occupants, but are using "dissuasive" actions to prompt them to leave.

Meanwhile, the group maintains that it will not end its occupation "until the Costa Rican president mediates to ensure that our country's government will end the repression" and the antiriot police leave the area.

Nine young women and 11 young men are involved in the occupation. Some of them are "carrying weapons," Consul Humberto Murillo said.

FECMAFAN called for a march this morning beginning at the "Las Americas" Plaza, about 200 meters from the Costa Rican Embassy, to demand that the Salvadoran Government "respect human rights" and end the embassy occupation.

Meanwhile, the Armed Forces today beefed up security in San Salvador by posting additional troops on avenues and at buildings, and searching vehicles as part of Operation "Atlacatl II," which is being implemented throughout the country to prevent "terrorist" actions. [Paris AFP in Spanish at 1617 GMT reports that Costa Rican Ambassador Jesus Fernandez was picked up by an ambulance on 5 October to be treated for a heart ailment. It adds that one of nine reporters still inside the embassy called local stations to report that the police did not allow them to receive food provided by the Green Cross]

Occupation Ends

PA0610203689 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2005 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] San Salvador, 6 Oct (ACAN - EFE)—Official reports indicate that the occupation of the Costa Rican Embassy in San Salvador ended today at 1930 GMT when International Red Cross Committee officials removed the hostages and occupants.

The Costa Rican ambassador's wife, Jeanine de Fernandez, Consul Humberto Murillo, First Secretary Luis de

Anda, and nine more people were released after almost 30 hours of being captive in the diplomatic headquarters.

Six Red Cross Committee ambulances took away almost a dozen members of the organization of political prisoners that occupied the embassy and ended the takeover of the Costa Rican Embassy.

FMLN Rejects Government Amnesty Law

PA0610225489 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2210 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Mexico City, 6 Oct (EFE)—The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] of El Salvador reported in Mexico City today that it "has rejected the amnesty law" decreed by the Salvadoran Government. The announcement was made by Commander Mario Lopez, a member of the FMLN political and diplomatic commission.

Lopez said that, with the amnesty, the government of President Alfredo Cristiani "is trying to ignore the international commitment made through the Geneva Convention to help the war disabled. This convention makes it mandatory to give medical attention to combatants."

The FMLN spokesman in Mexico added that the amnesty law "intends to pardon the war disabled for crimes they never perpetrated. The government is trying to conceal the fact that there is a civil war going on."

Lopez denied that some of the war disabled, who sought refuge in the Mexican Embassy, have accepted the amnesty law, as the president of the Legislative Assembly said in San Salvador.

Lopez accused Cristiani of regarding as an FMLN "cover" every political organization that opposes any government measures. He denied that the members of the Committee of Mothers of Prisoners and Missing Persons, who occupied the Costa Rican Embassy in San Salvador, are guerrillas.

He also said it is likely that the war disabled that are occupying the Mexican Embassy in San Salvador will be regarded as seekers of asylum prior to 8 October, so they can leave El Salvador.

The Mexican Foreign Relations Secretariat has not yet reported on the official Mexican stance and the measures that Mexico could take on this conflict in its embassy in El Salvador.

Disabled FMLN Fighters Reportedly Go to Mexico

PA0810015989 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0041 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] San Salvador, 7 October (DPA)—A group of disabled fighters from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] who were staying at the Mexican Embassy, this afternoon left the embassy installations at 1720 in 9 Red Cross ambulances.

Reports indicate that the disabled fighters will depart for Mexico tonight from the Comalapa Airport. They will be escorted to the airport by two vehicles with tinted windows, and presumably accompanied by Mexican diplomatic authorities and the director of legal guardianship at the San Salvador archbishopric. A brief report stated that the maimed fighters, who spent 34 days at the cathedral in the capital city, and 5 days at the Mexican Embassy, will eventually travel to Cuba. The group is composed of 45 men, 1 woman, and 2 nurses.

Rivera y Damas Comments on Peace Dialogue

PA0810141489 San Salvador Radio Cadena Sonora in Spanish 1905 GMT 2 Oct 89

[Report on interview with San Salvador Archbishop Msgr Arturo Rivera y Damas by unidentified reporter in San Salvador; date not given—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] If the increase in military actions by the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] and the counterattacks by the Army jeopardize the resumption of the recently started peace talks—between the Salvadoran Government and the FMLN guerrillas—that would be a mistake, San Salvador Archbishop Msgr Arturo Rivera y Damas said during the Sunday homily. He said that he hopes the Pope has pointed out to President Cristiani the importance of the dialogue as the only alternative for attaining peace in El Salvador. [Rivera y Damas] "In addition, over the past few days there has been an intensification in FMLN attacks against military targets and an increase in the respective Army counterattacks, which are so widespread that some people think these actions will jeopardize the dialogue process. We believe this would be a mistake. Precisely because the war actions—which have left 78 victims—have been intensified, it is urgent to end the conflict through dialogue. Fully aware of the position of Pope John Paul II with regard to solution of conflicts, especially concerning the old conflict in El Salvador, I assume he encouraged President Cristiani during his recent visit to the Vatican to pursue the civilized and Christian option of dialogue."

In statements to the media, Msgr Rivera y Damas said there is no possibility that President Alfredo Cristiani will announce a proposal for the FMLN at the UN General Assembly. Any documents have to be submitted to the representatives of the two commissions at the upcoming dialogue session to be held in San Jose, Costa Rica, Rivera y Damas said.

[Rivera y Damas] "Naturally, the problem being raised is a basic one. If there is ongoing dialogue, I suppose no proposals can be made outside this process. In any event, the FMLN can discuss any proposals the president may make at the dialogue table."

[Reporter] "What is your opinion about the submission of a proposal to halt offensive operations without negotiating, in turn, the democratization and other aspects?"

[Rivera y Damas] "It is just as fundamental that the FMLN enjoy every guarantee, as it is for them to lay down their arms prior to any negotiation. Consequently, this must be the object of the dialogue."

Rivera y Damas also said that the Catholic Church in a few days will make a statement on the Supreme Court of Justice's resolutions in favor of the old owners of land affected by agrarian reform. He said the Church will also make a pronouncement on the amendments to the penal code as they are dictatorial in nature.

[Rivera y Damas] "We have noticed and, naturally, will state our position that the reforms are necessary because we believe the causes of the conflict are also socio-economic. Even if the reforms are not perfect they would help resolve some of the conflict's causes. Thus, if reforms are hindered and not strengthened we go backwards."

[Reporter] "[words indistinct] FMLN would take this to dialogue; that is, the fact that reforms are not made?"

[Rivera y Damas] "That could be, but I believe any measure that delays resolving the conflict will only bring more suffering to the people."

[Reporter] "Monsignor, the penal amendments were approved very discreetly this week. I do not know if the Church will take a stance with regard to these amendments. These amendments—the text of which has been commented on by all sectors—would also affect the Church, as you could be charged with promoting subversion in your homilies. What are your comments?"

[Rivera y Damas] "We will denounce these amendments continously if they have been approved and promote a dictatorial system under the cloak of democracy. We are not obliged to comply with unjust dispositions."

[Reporter] "Then, do you think they were approved with such discretion not to...."

[Rivera, interrupting] "Precisely, because it would have been difficult to get these amendments approved if they gave them a great deal of publicity and discussions. The strategy worked for them [the government]"

The Catholic prelate believes the FMLN's disabled personnel should accept the amnesty that the government presented to the Legislative Assembly as [words indistinct] whether it lets them leave the country or not.

"I called the directorate to [words indistinct]. I believe the only way to resolve the conflict is by compliance with the laws. Basically, the FMLN's incorporation into the country's democratic process will depend on its accepting the Salvadoran laws. This has to start somewhere and I believe the disabled FMLN personnel should take this first step. I really do not believe acceptance of amnesty is necessary in this case, but it is a way to resolve the problem."

[Reporter] "[word indistinct] compliance with an international agreement?"

[Rivera y Damas] "However, the government wants to shield itself with a special amnesty law. I believe the disabled will have to comply with such a petition as, ultimately, it is the government that will decide if they can leave or not."

[Reporter] "Is it not contradictory [words indistinct] amnesty for nationals...."

[Rivera, interrupting] "[word indistinct] ... and meanwhile the disabled have been here for a month and a half. As you would say in Latin, we cannot keep them here today and always."

On ending, the Catholic bishop reported that Msgr Gregorio Rosa Chavez, auxiliar bishop of San Salvador, and Conservative Bishop Romero Tobar Astorga are the Catholic Church members selected to attend the forthcoming meeting of the rebels and government representatives in San Jose, Costa Rica. The bishops are to witness and certify the peace talks.

FMLN's Villalobos Discusses Change of Strategy

PM1010085689 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 21 Sep 89 p 14

[Joaquim Ibarz dispatch on interview with Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front Commander Joaquin Villalobos; date, place not given]

[Text] Mexico City—After 20 years of civil war and 70,000 casualties El Salvador's foremost guerrilla leader Joaquin Villalobos has admitted that a decade ago the Salvadoran left missed "a historic opportunity" to unite the entire country around its cause.

"We committed a very serious sin and our penance has been these 10 years of war," said Villalobos, the top military leader and foremost political strategist of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

"We are not going to waste this second opportunity," the commander stressed. This opportunity emerged in the Mexican capital last week when the guerrilla and government negotiators agreed for the first time to hold formal negotiations on ending the war.

The FMLN commander said that the guerrilla forces "would stop the hostilities" if the United States stopped sending aid to EL Salvador. "The war would end immediately if Washington suspended supplies of military equipment. Our response to such a move would be immediate and the fighting would end the very day it was announced. If the United States stops its supplies, nobody else would die, there would be no more clashes. Then it would be a matter of negotiating with the government the conditions for achieving lasting peace."

"No" to Demobilization

Villalobos' interview with LA VANGUARDIA took place a few days after the FMLN announced a detailed peace plan designed to achieve a cease-fire by 15

November and a final cessation of hostilities by 31 January 1990. The plan will be discussed in future negotiations with representatives of Alfredo Cristiani's government. Commander Joaquin Villalobos made it clear that his offer to stop the fighting if the United States suspends its weapon supplies is unrelated to the government's demand for the guerrillas to demobilize.

"The government would be acting in bad faith if its demands centered on our putting down our weapons. There are reasons for this war and it is necessary to eliminate the causes that prompted us to engage in the struggle in the mountains and to fight for 10 years." Joaquin Villalobos seemed relaxed and confident during the interview. With reference to the start of the war, he said ruefully: "We missed our historic opportunity to win."

Ideological Dogmatism

Recalling the past, Villalobos admitted that, owing to ideological dogmatism, the Left rejected cooperation with certain businessmen and progressive sectors within the Army wanting to end the country's control by a small oligarchical group and to establish democratic reforms. "If in 1980 we had been able to formulate a platform to unite the country, then we would not be talking here," Villalobos said. What he meant by this was that the interview would have taken place in San Salvador, where he would now be a major political leader.

Villalobos admitted that the FMLN cannot win the war, even though the guerrillas are very strong and often put the Army on the defensive. However, he also said that he is absolutely sure that the FMLN will lead the changes that need to be made in El Salvador in order to achieve lasting peace. In the past year the FMLN has experienced a major transformation in its strategic policy, reflected in a peace proposal designed to transfer the armed struggle to the political field.

In exchange the FMLN is demanding an end to repression and thorough changes in the Army as well as in the political and judicial systems. Few rebel leaders reflect this transformation more or better than Villalobos, who exchanged his combat uniform for a suit and tie 10 months ago. Since then he has spent his whole time traveling around Latin America, talking with its leaders and redesigning the FMLN's political strategy.

Villalobos stressed that the central point of the new strategy is "the country's demilitarization as an expression of revolutionary change." "If they had suggested this to us 6 years ago we would never have accepted it," he added, with a smile. "Our present revolutionary objectives correspond to a new situation. We made many mistakes in the past. We were unable to unite around a common objective. We sought an unrealistic objective. We have made serious mistakes, and we realize it. Among these mistakes we must include the assassination almost 15 years ago of the poet, Roque Dalton, a rebel leader whose death split the insurgents for any years."

Villalobos has been accused in the past of have killed Roque Dalton or having ordered his killing. He explained that the young poet's killing was "an armed action" in which he took part. "Dalton's death lost us the intellectuals' support for years," he admitted. Wearing a sports jacket and dark trousers, Villalobos, who is 38, retains a youthful face and looks more like the economics student that he was before joining the very disciplined and well trained guerrillas.

Conciliatory Tone

For years people have been saying the Villalobos was the FMLN's toughest commander, which contrasts with his conciliatory remarks.

The commander said that to end the conflict legal proceedings must be taken against Roberto D'Aubuisson, the leader of the ruling ARENA party, who is accused of organizing the death squads. Villalobos denies that the change in the FMLN's policy and strategy is due to the perestroyka taking place in the Soviet bloc.

"The pattern of our political strategy is in line with our own model, irrespective of the crisis and whatever problems may exist in the socialist camp," Villalobos said.

Guerrillas Attack Air Force Garrison, 11 Wounded

PA1010011589 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0047 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] San Salvador, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—The Army has reported that 11 soldiers were wounded, 3 of them seriously, in a guerrilla attack on the Air Force garrison in eastern San Salvador that took place a few hours ago.

In a last minute report, the Armed Forces Press Committee stated that the rebels launched seven Soviet-made grenades against the Ilopango military base, nine km from San Salvador.

According to the initial military reports, the attack caused no damage to the garrison.

Air Force Commander on Attack

PA1010015989 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0122 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] San Salvador, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Eleven soldiers were wounded, three of them seriously, during a guerrilla attack today against the Salvadoran Air Force, Air Force Commander General Rafael Bustillo has reported.

The military leader said that two individuals threw six grenades inside the Air Force garrison located about 9 km east of San Salvador without causing structural damage.

Bustillo added that the explosion of the "industrial type" grenades wounded 11 soldiers, 3 of them seriously, who were taken to the military hospital.

The attack took place at 1600 (2200 GMT) on a street near the Air Force garrison in Ilopango Municipality.

The wounded soldiers were receiving military training at the moment of the attack, Bustillo said. He added that there were no civilian casualties.

According to Bustillo, "attacks like this will continue" because the upcoming round of the talks between the government and guerrillas, which is scheduled for 16-17 October in San Jose (Costa Rica), is drawing near.

FMLN Threatens Relatives of Military Officers

PA0610223989 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 5 Oct 89 pp 23, 32

[Text] According to documents in the hands of Armed Forces intelligence, the relatives of high-ranking officers have been threatened by Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and Revolutionary Democratic Front terrorists.

According to sources who asked not to be identified, the threatened families are those of General Humberto Larios and Colonels Juan Orlando Zepeda, Rene Emilio Ponce, Inocente Orlando Montano, and Carlos Guzman Aguilar.

A military source said that, apparently, the terrorists have assigned to a People's Liberation Forces cell the task of carrying out the threats prior to the meeting [between the FMLN and the Salvadoran Government] which is to take place during the second half of this month in San Jose, Costa Rica.

The objective is to kidnap a relative of any of these officers in order to use that hostage as pressure during the negotiations for peace.

The threatened families have been asked to take precautionary measures. The documents the authorities have will be made available to organizations that claim they protect human rights so that they see how these groups show no respect for those principles.

Journalists spoke with the police chief, Colonel Carlos Guzman Aguilar, who because of security considerations, only confirmed the information without giving further details.

FMLN Attacks Quetzaltepeque, Torches Factory

PA0610191289 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1200 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] This is a last minute report: At exactly 0110 today, FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] insurgent columns carried out an incursion in Quetzaltepeque, La Libertad Department. According to military and civilian sources, the insurgents accosted national police positions there.

Preliminary reports indicate that two national police members were killed and one was wounded. The fighting lasted 30 minutes. During their retreat, the rebels torched the San Nicolas Textile Factory in that same town and clashed with factory security guards.

As this moment, firefighters are still trying to put out the fire. The casualty count among the guerrillas, security officers, and Army is not yet known.

Venceremos Reports 27-30 Sep FMLN Clashes

PA0910224389

[Editorial Report] (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador at 0000 GMT on 1 October broadcasts a military report on a clash between Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] guerrillas and Salvadoran Army troops. According to Venceremos, "Five casualties were inflicted and one helicopter was damaged when FMLN guerrillas clashed with Fifth Brigade troops on 29 September in the hamlet of San Felipe, Tecoluca Jurisdiction." The clash lasted from 0800 to 1800, during which a UH-1H helicopter tried to land to help the troops, but was hit by guerrilla fire.

Radio Venceremos at 0000 GMT on 3 October broadcasts 10 minutes of military reports on more clashes between FMLN guerrillas and Salvadoran Army troops.

The first report says the FMLN guerrillas inflicted one casualty on Tecana Battalion troops during a clash in El Tablon, Santa Ana Department at 1930 on 30 September.

The report adds that FMLN guerrillas clashed with Second Brigade troops in the hamlet of (Cucucuyo), Santa Ana Department also at 1930 on 30 September. Three casualties were inflicted on the Salvadoran Army troops.

The same report states that FMLN troops inflicted two casualties on the Tecana Battalion in Masahuat Jurisdiction, Santa Ana Department at 1100 on 30 September. A total of six casualties were inflicted in Santa Ana Department.

Another report states that on 27 September, a Third Brigade truck was ambushed between San Miguel and (El Tacayan). Venceremos says "we inflicted 15 casualties, including a sergeant."

The next report states that a UH-1H helicopter was damaged in the hamlet of Santa Ines, San Jose Guayabal when paratroopers were trying to help Army troops in the area. No date was given for this report.

The final report states that FMLN guerrillas inflicted "six casualties on Second Brigade troops in a clash in northern Santa Ana Department." Again, no date was given.

Guatemala

'General Alert' Follows Threat to Radio Stations

PA0510180989 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1650 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Guatemala City, 5 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Guatemalan security forces today declared a "general alert" after a radio station in the capital received a phone call in which an unidentified person threatened a generalized attack on radio stations throughout the country.

Odilio Deleon, 42, an announcer for Radio Cultural, told the police that he received a phone call yesterday in which an attack on radio stations was threatened. No reason for the threat was given.

Police sources said that in view of this report, security forces were alerted and investigations begun to identify those responsible for this plan.

Over 20 months ago, the operator of a tranmission tower for Channel 7 Television was killed by a high-powered bomb detonated by unidentified persons.

The home of Rolando Archila, director general of Guatemala's Emisoras Unidas, the radio station with the largest audience in the country, was damaged in a terrorist attack.

The Christian Democratic government attributed these actions to "extreme rightist" groups seeking to "destabilize the democratic process initiated in January, 1986," after 2 decades of military regimes.

So far, it is not known if the threat to the radio stations was made by those groups, or if it came from the extreme left (the guerrillas).

Foreign Minister on Recall of Envoy to Panama

PA0910173389 Guatemala City LA HORA in Spanish 5 Oct 89 p 6

[Text] Guatemalan Foreign Minister Mario Palencia today disclosed that General Rodolfo Lobos Zamora, the current Guatemalan ambassador to Panama, will be removed from his post.

The foreign minister added that our government has recalled Gen Lobos Zamora so that he could report on the Panamanian situation, hinting that the ambassador returned to our country prior to the coup attempt against General Manuel Antonio Noriega. When it occurred, Lobos Zamora was in our country.

Gen Lobos Zamora was asked to explain the situation prevailing in Panama, but at the time nothing was known about a possible armed reaction to the appointment of the provisional president who replaced Solis Palma, who, in turn, had ended his term in office.

Regarding the Panamanian incidents, Palencia said that he phoned our embassy in Panama, where he received ample information about the military uprising and those who tried to take over the Panama Defense Forces headquarters, where Gen Noriega's offices are located.

In addition, Palencia was told that some civilians had tried to build barricades to interrupt traffic in Panama City but they were subsequently withdrawn.

Asked about the Guatemalan Government position with regard to the recently aborted military coup in Panama, the foreign minister said that he will have to consult with the president of the Republic before venturing an opinion.

However, he added, we should not forget that President Cerezo's government continues its policy of active neutrality based on what which was stated in the latest peace agreements for the Central American region. In any case, he said, we would abide by them, maintaining our respect for the Panamanian people.

As to the appointment of the new U.S. ambassador to our country, Palencia said that the U.S. Government has not requested our government's consent for any person in particular.

It is known that four people were nominated for this post, however, the U.S. Government has made no decision as to whom it will send here.

Palencia categorically denied that the president had offered him a diplomatic post abroad.

He said that even if this were true, he would have to turn it down because he does not want to leave the country at a time when Guatemala is going through all kinds of vicissitudes.

Honduras

Azcona Addresses National, Foreign Issues

PA0910201689 Tegucigalpa Voz de Honduras Network in Spanish 1145 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Summary from poor reception] During an interview with Honduran President Jose Azcona by an unidentified Voz de Honduras Network reporter in Tegucigalpa on an unspecified date, the president referred to the conflict between the workers union of Tela Railroad Company and the railroad company's management as an emergency. Azcona said the conflict "could be very dangerous for Honduras."

With regard to the Latin American presidential summit this month in Costa Rica, Azcona said that he believes it will be primarily a meeting to pay homage to Costa Rica for its efforts in favor of democracy.

As for General Humberto Regalado Hernandez' promotion to division general, the president said that Gen Regalado as well as the two other colonels who were promoted deserve their promotions. He added that Regalado met the requirements for promotion, and his

advancement will not interfere with the internal functioning of the Armed Forces Superior Council, which is in charge of recommending promotions to the president. In response to statements to the effect that the promotions will make a budget increase necessary, President Azcona said that is not true, and he explained that the Armed Forces has a budget to meet its needs.

In response to a question regarding the contras' refusal to leave Honduras, President Azcona said he believes they will leave because the democratization process in Nicaragua is under way, and if this democratization effort continues, it will make the contras' demobilization easier. Azcona said: "I believe that international events, especially in the Eastern bloc, will promote a political solution in Nicaragua."

With regard to General Manuel Antonio Noriega, President Azcona said that General Manuel Antonio Noriega has not yet consolidated things in Panama, and that the United States was right to not intervene by force. Azcona said: "I believe that a direct U.S. intervention would have created a very negative climate."

Gen Regalado Abandons Bid for Reelection

PA0610021089 San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 5 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Tegucigalpa—General Humberto Regalado Hernandez gave up his bid for reelection as chief of the Armed Forces because of the resentment this has created in the military leadership, and he now plans to retire with honors, leaving other officers to vie for that post, military sources have reported.

The same source confirmed the intention of the Senior Council of the Armed Forces [COSUFFAA] to promote Regalado Hernandez to the rank of division general and Colonels Wilfredo Sanchez and Roberto Martinez Avila to the rank of brigadier general.

The source said that there has been an intense struggle among the different COSUFFAA graduating classes for the past several months. They are all interested in the leadership of the Armed Forces, which includes all commands, battalions, and brigades.

According to the source, among those who are contenders to the leadership of the Armed Forces are Colonels Alvaro Antonio Romero, the current navy chief; Arnulfo Cantarero; and Reynaldo Andino Flores, chief of the 105th Brigade based in San Pedro Sula.

It has been reported that military chiefs of the first graduating classes have supported Roberto Martinez Avila in his bid to become the chief of the Armed Forces because they believe him to be an intermediate point between the different graduating classes, which would reconcile interests and positions.

The source said, however, that nothing has been decided yet and that the "final battle" will be waged in December before the slate of three candidates is submitted to the National Congress, which will elect the new military chief.

The sources said that Colonel Wilfredo Sanchez's promotion to the rank of general would be recognition by his fellow officers at the COSUFFAA before his retirement. The same would be the case for Martinez Avila if he does not receive the necessary support to be elected to the leadership of the Armed Forces.

Contra Commander Denies Links With Panamanians

PA0910212489 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1830 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—A Nicaraguan contra military commander today denied in Honduras the participation of his troops in the military coup attempt against Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP].

The rebel commander preferred not to be identified so that contra leader Enrique Bermudez, who is currently in Yamales, can make an official statement. He termed a report in that sense published Sunday in the Panamanian pro-government daily LA REPUBLICA as "speculation."

An FDP "war report" said that last Tuesday's coup attempt left 10 dead; 26 wounded; and 37 under arrest, including Colonels Julio Ow Young and Guillermo Wong, both FDP Staff members; and 5 still at large.

According to LA REPUBLICA, Marco Antonio Payan, one of the best known contra commanders who uses the pseudonym "Mike Lima," had links with the coupists.

The anti-Sandinist source consulted by ACAN-EFE said: "That is mere speculation. We have nothing to do with Panama's internal affairs."

He stressed that "Mike Lima" has been in Miami (United States) for a long time "carrying out specific duties, and our fighters are inside Nicaragua or at the Honduran border."

Most of the contra commanders are currently in Yamales, the anti-Sandinist general command located in eastern Honduras along the border with Nicaragua, planning a meeting they will hold this week with delegates of the International Support and Verification Commission (CIAV).

Private and official Honduran circles are concerned about the fate of approximately 11,000 armed contras, some of whom refuse to be repatriated, posing an international security problem.

Nicaragua

Editorial Views Results of Shevardnadze Visit

PA0710023589 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 5 Oct 89 p 5

[Editorial: "The Soviet Union's Example"]

[Text] The visit to Nicaragua that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze concluded on 4 October will have historic significance for our country's future in its struggle for peace. Considered either from the viewpoint of the bilateral cooperation between the two countries or the need for stability and security in Central America, the results of this fruitful exchange have met various expectations.

The Soviet Union has again given a lesson to the world by showing how a small country and a world power can strengthen their friendly relations based on mutual respect. For Nicaragua, this unconditional solidarity of the Soviet Union, backed by the commitment to reorient cooperation toward more efficient ways that can help in the social and economic development of our country in times of peace, is a decision that credits our sacred self-determination principle.

In addition, Nicaragua on 4 October announced new initiatives to advance the solution of the most pressing problems that affect security in Central America, whose discussion in regional negotiations has been delayed for several years. Some of these bold measures are: a proposal to establish a reasonable balance of forces in Central America; the immediate and definitive solution of the contra problem; an effective system to verify compliance with the commitments signed by the five presidents; and the ratification of a temporary moratorium on the receipt of arms and supplies from the Soviet Union to stimulate the U.S. Government to take similar steps.

Shevardnadze not only confirmed the Soviet Union's support of the Nicaraguan statement but invited the U.S. Government to join the Soviet Union in guaranteeing a regional security accord. This accord would allow Central America to become a zone of peace without foreign advisers, where the possibility of an outbreak of regional conflicts and foreign interference, all of which threaten the sovereignty of the peoples, can be ruled out.

This coincidence of views by the Nicaraguan and Soviet Governments intends to guarantee the irreversibility of the Esquipulas agreements in the next decade. In other words, this would be a new form of coexistence between regimes that aspire to establish full democracy in their countries.

Obviously, the first step toward a new regional commitment is the restoration of mutual trust between the two sides. Nothing would contribute to this more than a Bush administration commitment to demobilize the contras and to immediately cease warlike actions against the Nicaraguan people.

Day of Voter Registration Ends Amid Charges

PA0910022089 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0041 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Managua, 8 Oct (DPA)—The 2d day for citizens to register to vote in the 1990 general elections ended today amid a flurry of accusations from the National Opposition Union (UNO) and the ruling Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN). Preliminary reports indicate that turnout for the registration was low.

An average of 70 citizens at each of the 4,394 polling places signed up, which is less than the 84-citizen average of last week.

The Supreme Electoral Council [CSE] hopes that 1.6 of the 1.9 million persons eligible to vote will register.

Thousands of soldiers signed up at the registration centers. This might increase the registration figures, but there are no details on the additional centers that were opened to accommodate the soldiers, who according to unofficial figures number around 100,000.

During the day, members of the ruling FSLN party charged on "Radio Sandino" that members of UNO, the main antigovernment political alliance, had violated the electoral law.

Omar Cabezas, coordinator of the Sandinist Defense Committees and deputy candidate for the western Leon Department, said that it is necessary to remain prudent in view of the many abuses by UNO members.

UNO leaders charged on Radio Corporacion that FSLN members had engaged in violations of the electoral law.

The FSLN appealed to its members and supporters hours before the registration began not to engage in political propaganda.

More than 150 UN and OAS observers went through various areas of Nicaragua to oversee the 2d day of registration.

Meanwhile, Liberal Virgilio Godoy, UNO vice presidential candidate, attended a registration center and signed up without incident. Communist candidate Eli Altamirano, of the same bloc, was turned down at a registration center because he was told he lacked the proper identification papers, according to the electoral law. Adan Fletes, UNO Christian Democratic leader, said that during the registration many officials and poll representatives of the opposition alliance were unable to participate at the registration centers because they lacked credentials.

Fletes charged that Sandinist police patrols engaged in "psychological harassment" of members of the UNO on the streets of Managua and at the registration centers.

He also said that the FSLN "cannot conceal the violations. It describes all actions in a warmongering tone" when it reports uncertain incidents, such as the case of

two bombs that exploded in a home in the township of "Pueblo Nuevo," 110 km south of Managua, which left five injured.

The registration figures will be compiled within the next 3 days.

Controversy Over U.S. Congress Funding for UNO

'Flouting' Electoral Laws

PA0610130889 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] This report comes from Washington. By a vote of 273 in favor and 156 against, the U.S. Congress on 5 October approved $9 million for the Nicaraguan civic contra, or the so-called UNO [National Opposition Union].

The U.S. House of Representatives earmarked $5 million for the NED [National Endowment for Democracy] to infiltrate it into Nicaragua, flouting the country's electoral laws for the benefit of organizations linked to UNO. The remaining $4 million is to be distributed among the pro-U.S. coalition and the Supreme Electoral Council in alleged compliance with the Nicaraguan legislation.

This means, for the civic contra, up to $815,000 in salaries for its kingpins and $1.5 million for the purchase of vehicles.

Commentary Denounces Funding

PA0610151589 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1240 GMT 6 Oct 89

["Today's Commentary" by Aldo Diaz Lacayo]

[Text] According to Article 124 of the Electoral Code, donations received from abroad must meet the following three requirements:

1. Donations should contribute to the fund for democracy, in order to complement electoral expenses.

2. The objective should be financing political parties, political alliances, or grass-root organizations that register candidates for the elections.

3. Donations should be delivered to the Central Bank or to the Foreign Cooperation Ministry and will be regulated by laws on the subject.

Also in accordance with the same article, 50 percent of the donations will go to the political party, alliance, or political organization receiving it, and 50 percent to the fund for democracy, which will be managed by the Supreme Electoral Council (CSE).

All other donations from abroad are totally banned according to Article 127 of the Electoral Law.

It is true that the Electoral Law legalizes an immoral action which, in addition, frankly contradicts international law. It permits foreign intervention in matters that should be of the exclusive concern of the Nicaraguan state. However, it is also true that this legalization is aimed at controlling violations of international laws, and reducing to a minimum the negative impact of immorality. In other words, legislators tried to prevent something more evil. Legislators chose the lesser of two evils, based on the undeniable assumption that since illegality and immorality cannot be prevented, it is best to control it, just as prostitution was legalized to control venereal diseases.

However, the enemy, in addition to being immoral and unrestrained, is mean and indecent. Just as all dignified Nicaraguans expected, U.S. imperialists have refused to be subject to legal controls, and prefer to continue acting within the framework of immorality and illegality. They refuse to comply with the Nicaraguan electoral laws.

This is another high price that the Sandinist people's revolution is forced to pay for making a political concession to the international community. As a matter of fact, the international community asked the Nicaraguan Government to lift the total suspension on foreign donations for opposition parties. Despite that flexibility shown by the Nicaraguan revolutionary government, it now happens that the CIA has already introduced into the country no less than $5 million, which arrived in Nicaragua covertly and thus illegally. No one knows for sure who really received those funds, or how it will be used.

In other words, this is the first million-dollar allotment which has been discovered in the U.S. campaign to destabilize the Nicaraguan electoral process. This should go on the records.

Although this could be considered normal since the CIA is bound to be immoral and illegal, that is not all. To top it all, the U.S. Government is about to obtain, or has already obtained congressional approval for open aid to the Nicaraguan electoral process in the amount of $9 million.

According to the bill submitted to the U.S. Congress, this so-called aid or at least most of it, will also arrive in Nicaragua contradicting the electoral law regulations. In fact, $1 million of the $9 million will be delivered to U.S. organizations to oversee the electoral process by means not controlled by the Nicaraguan state.

In addition, $4 million will be delivered to various groups not authorized by the electoral law, or to opposition political organizations in such a way that they will not have to share it with the CSE for the fund for democracy. of the remaining $4 million, an unspecified amount will be delivered to the UNO for its electoral campaign. This means that only half of that unspecified amount—which can be very small—will go to the fund for democracy. The last part of the last $4 million will also be distributed to groups not authorized by the Nicaraguan Electoral Law.

Once again we must repeat the FSLN's charge, which has been confirmed by reality time and again. The U.S. Government is bent on destroying the Sandinist people's revolution. It does not care at all for democracy. The international community should say something about this. Everything will be better. [Sandinist campaign slogan]

UNO Dependence on U.S. Viewed

PA0610162089 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Statement by Vice Foreign Minister Jose Leon Talavera; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] U.S. financing of UNO will be seen at home and abroad as a coup de grace that demonstrates UNO's total dependence on the imperialist plan against Nicaragua. It is becoming increasingly clear that, as President Daniel Ortega said, the election campaign is being waged mainly by the United States and Nicaragua—or the Nicaraguan people represented by the FSLN. We hope that this disclosure will isolate UNO and serve to deprive this group of legitimacy in those few sectors that considered it to be a national force. We think a majority of the Nicaraguan people will reject this financing on 25 February 1990 by voting for the FSLN and its candidates.

Editorial Wants UNO Report on Funds

PA0910184489 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 6 Oct 89 p 3

[Editorial: "What Commitment Has Been Made to the CIA?"]

[Text] The Bush administration is throwing up a smokescreen and delaying discussions in Congress on what channels are to be used to openly provide funds to the "civilian" contras. Meanwhile, a massive flow of dollars is flooding the pockets of those who are leading the UNO campaign.

Some days ago, the House of Representatives "Rules Committee" approved a bill banning covert intervention by the CIA in the electoral process. However, revelations made by NEWSWEEK show that any future initiatives that might be approved by the Congress to prevent the illegal financing of Washington's latest creation will be just so much paper.

Some 70 percent of the total cost of the elections, $17.5 million, is reportedly in the hands of well-known pawns such as Alfredo Cesar and Alfonso Robelo, who have been converted into new "soldiers of democracy" after being relieved of command within the armed counterrevolution in order to lead Washington's electoral expedition.

The funds disbursed from the budget allocated by the State Department for the contra offices in Miami (some $800,000 annually) and to its campaign committee in Managua point up the metamorphosis of the champions of freedom, whose manager continues to be the U.S. Government.

What NEWSWEEK does not say is where the $5 million that the CIA has begun to circulate secretly to subsidize the ultrarightist coalition is coming from.

In mid-1988, the CIA was still spending money from a "political account" consisting of from $10-$12 million allocated for the internal opposition, according to recent disclosures made by the U.S. Congress' Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus.

The CIA's interference in the electoral process is indicative of the "dirty work" that it might carry out from now on as a means of hindering the elections.

It was the CIA that forced Arturo Cruz to withdraw his candidacy in the 1984 elections, paying him $150,000, in a clear attempt to disrupt the electoral process.

The State Department's strategy at the time consisted of making opposition groups highly dependent on CIA cash payments, so as to later oblige them to stay away from the polls.

It is obvious that the defensive tone used by the UNO spokesmen with regard to the CIA's dollars seeks to justify beforehand the receipt of secret funds in open violation of the republic's electoral laws.

In view of this, the UNO must inform the local public and the authorities how much it has received from the CIA, how those millions are being used, and how this new, barefaced intervention by the CIA compromises the electoral process as a whole.

NED Gives $3.5 Million 'To Meddle in Election'

PA0610160889 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 4 Oct 89 p 3

[Text] The delivery of an additional $9 million to the right-wing opposition by the Bush administration will increase considerably the U.S. investment in each potential voter of the February elections. An estimated 1.9 million people are expected to vote in February.

So far the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) has disbursed $3.5 million for meddling in the elections, which is the equivalent to $1.84 for each potential Nicaraguan voter. If the request for new funds is approved in November, the investment could rise to $7.36.

This is the equivalent of spending $359.14 for each U.S. voter, and given an approximate total population of 240 million, this gives us the astronomical figure of $8,619,360,000,000.

The Bush administration has not ruled out directly financing UNO [Nicaraguan Opposition Union], although there are strong concerns among the top circles of the republican government regarding UNO's real possibilities at the polls.

The current controversy is centered around what channel would be the most appropriate in effectively implementing the U.S. administration's meddling policy, since U.S. laws

ban organizations like NED from financing political parties abroad for conversion purposes.

According to the NED's 1988 annual report, that organization distributed over $7 million to 17 political parties from all over the world to protect U.S. economic and political interests worldwide. In each case, however, the average invested amount did not exceed 50 U.S. cents.

In Nicaragua, a country that has been getting up to 19 percent of the NED investments, namely 22 U.S. cents per person, the new $9 million disbursement ($5 million of which is to be provided by the NED) will raise the amount of the meddling investment to $2.43 per resident.

This figure does not include the $4 million that will be funneled through other means; the covert resources used by the CIA that traditionally have escaped the control of the U.S. Congress; or funds from the other sources of financing: the private groups and organizations in the United States and Europe that are ready to help the Bush administration provide funds to the opposition.

These figures alone are revealing because they show the extent to which Nicaragua continues to be a preferred U.S. target despite the rhetoric about a new "pragmatic" Bush administration. This administration seeks to draw attention away from the armed counterrevolution's tragic fate, and its systematic move from a policy of military financing to the infusion of vast aid amounts to buttress the civic contra, even though this might entail the continued violation of U.S. laws.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III wants the bipartisan agreement on humanitarian aid to the counterrevolution to become joint Democratic and Republican support not just for the UNO electoral ticket, but also for finding financing alternatives that would erase the image of a sold-out opposition that the ultrarightist coalition has had since its inception.

According to financial estimates made by the U.S. Department of State in the face of the electoral process, the conscience of every Nicaraguan would be worth $2.43. Although this sum can very well correspond to the overall worth of the civic contra's political parties, it constitutes an insult to the great majority of the people who have proven—with tremendous sacrifice, daily effort, and the blood of the thousands who have been killed—that their consciences have no price.

UNO Candidates Hold Rally in La Trinidad

PA0810031189 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0152 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Managua, 7 Oct (DPA)—Approximately 12,000 people today attended a National Opposition Union [UNO] rally in La Trinidad, approximately 120 km north of Managua. The rally was also attended by UNO presidential and vice presidential candidates Violeta Chamorro and Virgilio Godoy.

To stress the acceptance of the alliance among the urban and rural population, LA PRENSA, the newspaper owned by Mrs Chamorro, said that the "UNO had overflowed at La Trinidad."

Speaking before the thousands who participated in the event, Virgilio Godoy said: "We do not have rifles or torturers, but we do have the votes to defeat the Sandinists."

During her speech, Violeta Chamorro charged that the ruling Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN), is "setting traps" to divide the opposition and added that, with the help of the people, she is going "to remove the commanders from power."

Even though there are other presidential candidates, Chamorro and Godoy are the strongest contenders the ruling party's candidates, Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramirez, will face in the 25 February 1990 elections.

The FSLN leaders have accused the UNO of receiving U.S. money, through the CIA, to illegally finance the election campaign. The Sandinists have said that the elections will be a struggle between the revolution and U.S. imperialism, while the UNO leaders, who reject having received the money, said that the struggle will be between Sandinist totalitarianism and democracy.

UNO Voices Solidarity With Panama Opposition

PA0710001389 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 3 Oct 89 pp 1, 12

[Text] Upon learning about the military uprising against Panamanian dictator Noriega reported this morning by international news agencies, Luis Sanchez Sancho, National Opposition Union (UNO) official spokesman, voiced UNO's "absolute solidarity with Panama's Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance (ADOC) and President-Elect Guillermo Endara, currently on a hunger strike."

The official UNO spokesman added that "UNO considers that the continuation of Noriega in power is an offense to the morality of the Panamanians and the entire world, given Noriega's record. Moreover, this continuation continues to be the greatest obstacle for the beginning of democracy in Panama."

Sanchez Sancho said that, despite UNO's solidarity with ADOC, it was a "shame the only way to oust Noriega from power was the military way, but Noriega deserved it for his blatant disregard for the Panamanian people's will expressed in the 7 May 1989 elections."

Commentary on U.S. 'Hand' in Panama Coup Attempt

PA0910153489 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 5 Oct 89 p 3

[Unattributed commentary: "The U.S. Hand in the Coup Attempt in Panama"]

[Text] Under the pretext of the "defense of democracy," the Bush administration has been giving free rein to its

strategy of political, military, and diplomatic pressure and financial blackmail against Panama, a policy implemented in 1987 by Bush's Republican predecessor, Ronald Reagan.

Ever since the Torrijos-Carter Treaties were signed in September, 1977, the United States has used various avenues in an attempt to rid itself of that commitment before 31 December 1999, when the Panama Canal is to become totally sovereign and the Southern Command military forces and their bases are to leave the Canal Zone forever.

A Senate amendment after the treaty was signed unilaterally gave the United States the right to intervene "in defense of the canal" even after 1999.

The assassination of the leader Omar Torrijos by the CIA in July 1981 (the instruments of the plane in which the general was making a 10-minute local flight were interfered with from the ground) was overwhelming proof that the United States was determined, not just to distort the contents of the agreements, but also to ignore and abolish them.

Since Torrijos' death, attempts to bribe high-ranking military commanders of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP], the launching of disinformation campaigns internationally, and internal encouragement of rightist opposition groups have been designed to wipe out Torrijos' nationalist and anti-imperialist legacy and install a puppet government that would guarantee an extension of the U.S. presence on the isthmus beyond the year 2000.

The creation of the National Civic Crusade in mid-1987 was an attempt to put a guise of civil war on the proliferation of internal disturbances (of the "Melton Plan" type) that conservative political, ecclesiatical, and business leaders began to carry out, demanding the removal of top leaders of the Armed Forces General Staff. The same was the case of the abortive coup attempt on 7 May.

Today, as then, the initial enthusiasm in political circles in Washington in favor of the putchist military leaders and the wide news coverage given to the rebels by the main U.S. television channels contradict the hasty statements made by President Bush to the effect that no U.S. military or civilian personnel were involved in the attack on the FDP headquarters.

Even more worrisome is the angry criticism of the White House in the major U.S. press for not having acted with "speed and efficiency" (as Reagan did against the small island of Grenada), and for not having taken advantage of the revolt to consolidate its plans to subject Panama to the neocolonialist tutelage of the United States.

In addition, as occurred during the May elections, the anti-Panama propaganda disseminated by international news agencies and media such as THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST are helping to create conditions that would justify an increased and more overwhelming interference in Panama's internal affairs, supported by a so-called democratic rhetoric that cannot hide the political and hegemonic interests that are at stake on the strategic Panamanian Isthmus.

Defense Ministry Reports Six Killed in Attacks

PA0510173989 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Six members of a reconnaissance patrol of the Pancansan Battalion were killed last night in Santo Tomas, Chontales Department during a counterrevolutionary attack which also left six wounded. A Defense Ministry communique reported the death of Lieutenant Noel Espinosa and civilians Jose Guzman, Ramon Lopez, Miguel Plata, Cruz Antonion Maldonado, and Sixto Centeno.

The Defense Ministry also reported three other counterrevolutionary attacks on Sandinist People's Army units in Jinotega Department. These attacks left three people wounded and two kidnapped.

Sandinist Soldier, Contra Killed in Combat

PA1010033289 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0019 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Managua, 9 Oct (ACAN - EFE)—The Nicaraguan Defense Ministry reported today that a Sandinist soldier and a "contra" fighter have been killed in separate clashes on 8 October. The clashes occurred in the Nicaraguan Atlantic and southern areas.

Two rebel groups ambushed two Sandinist Army patrols on 8 October. One ambush took place at El Tortuguero in the Southern Atlantic region, and the other occurred in a section of the Rio San Juan that borders Costa Rica. The source reported that a soldier and a "contra" had been killed in these clashes.

The Defense Ministry also reported that five Sandinist soldiers were wounded during these clashes.

On that same 8 October, anti-Sandinist groups kidnapped three civilians in northern El Plantel, Jinotega and in central Camoapa, Boaco.

Authorities Release Prisoners in Matagalpa

PA0610161589 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Eight counterrevolutionary prisoners at the Waswali Penitentiary in Matagalpa, were released on 5 October by authorities in Military Region 6. The prisoners, including five women, were turned over to their relatives in front of Red Cross International delegate (?Mirlak Norty). The released prisoners are: Rosa Zaballos, Maria Mendoza Martinez, Maritza del Carmen Zeledon, Maria Victoria Gonzalez, Leticia Zelaya, Ramon Arnoldo Orozco Arauz, Maximo Chavarria, and

Manuel De Jesus Cordero. These people tried to organize an internal contra front in Jinotega 2 years ago. The Red Cross International delegate said their organization will provide economic aid to the released prisoners to help them rejoin civilian life.

Independent Television Newscast Airs 4 Oct

PA0710032689 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 4 Oct 89 p 8

[Text] The first "Independent Newscast" [Noticiero Independiente] on Nicaraguan television in the last 10 years may be seen in your home today at 1840 in the afternoon on channel 2 in the program that has been allocated for the National Opposition Union [UNO], members of their press committee have reported.

Today's edition will feature reports on the first day of registration along with several interviews on the issue. The San Jeronimo celebrations in Masaya and the Soviet foreign minister's stay in Nicaragua will also be shown.

The UNO program will be an open window so that the Nicaraguan people may see for the first time in 10 years what is really going on in their own country on their television sets.

LA PRENSA will inform viewers of the days on which the "Independent Newscast" will be shown so that our readers may enjoy this program reflecting the lives and the struggles of the people, who are seeking democratic changes.

Panama

Noriega Visible After Insurrection Attempt

Sends Message to U.S. Public

PA0610181589 Panama City MATUTINO in Spanish 6 Oct 89 pp 3, 18

[Report by Antonio Collins on 'exclusive' interview with General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces, FDP, at his home in Panama City on 5 October]

[Text] During an exclusive interview with EL MATUTINO on 5 October, FDP Commander Gen Manuel Antonio Noriega Moreno told U.S. journalists that Panama is their home. He stressed that foreigners are never arrested or kidnapped here, and that U.S. citizens have lived happily in our country.

Gen Noriega recalled that when he attended courses at Fort Braggs and Fort Gullick, the two main places where soldiers asked to be assigned to were Hawaii and Panama.

The Panamanian people's friendly attitude shows our spirit of fraternity, that we are not enemies of the U.S. people, he said. He added: However, I would like to say something to the U.S. people, and the youth. I accuse U.S. leaders of misinforming the U.S. public and of mounting an aggression against poor and peaceful people who have no offensive weapons or atomic bombs. Why should they attack us?

Noriega went on: I want the U.S. people to feel the sensibility of a man who represents the Panamanian people. Sara York, a girl from a U.S. town, came to visit our country. We showed her that we are decent people, not tribal, and have a history. Therefore, Panama should be respected. That is what we want the U.S. people to know. I also want them to know that the last attack was planned by the U.S. Government against Panama. The intention was to kill me. The U.S. Government wanted to kill Noriega in order not to comply with the treaties it signed. They bribed the officers. We have evidence showing that U.S. Southern Command troops were used to attack Panama. Attacking also means blocking the defenses of a sovereign country. Our air space was also blocked by Southern Command Cobra planes.

Noriega said: I would like the U.S. people, and the U.S. youth, to know that the U.S. Embassy has had the worst diplomats during the past 5 years. Davis was a total failure, and Maisto, who is plain stupid, has remained there. I think you could try to justify him as part of the establishment, but not as representative of the U.S. people. Change those men and bring men who can analyze and understand the people's sensibilities. I want the U.S. people to know that we were attacked based on a plan similar to the one used in Grenada. The plan was to kill Noriega, but Noriega is not the problem in our Republic. Our Republic is a whole great Republic that has something of interest to the United States. Why is the United States interested in Panama? It is interested in its geographical position and its canal. Hence, they are not interested in one man, they are interested in the Republic of Panama's geographical position.

If there is really a democracy in the United States, if the United States is really the champion of democracy, why not let Panama forge its own destiny and exercise self-determination. Panama's own destiny is the destiny that its men and women decide, not one imposed by someone abroad. We are different from U.S. people. We are not Anglo-Saxon, we do not have blue eyes. We are descendants from Negroes, Indians and Spaniards, and therefore, the United States should respect those races, but it does not, Noriega stressed.

The silver and gold payrolls that existed in Panama for whites and blacks is being maintained today. The United States is trying destroy the FDP, which represents the Panamanian nationality. We have learned from the United States, we have acquired U.S., not Soviet military doctrine. Why then does it want to kill us? I want the U.S. people and youth to know that when soldiers are sent here, they are being sent to war. There is no war here. This is not Vietnam, but the United States wants to start a Vietnam here. I also want to tell the mothers in Oklahoma, Alabama, New York, and other places in the United States who have sons and daughters here that

their sons and daughters are being sent to risk their lives because the United States is trying to provoke a confrontation, Noriega said.

Our people are not used to killing, but they are capable of defending their dignity. In defending their dignity, they will expel the aggressors, no matter what country they come from, and they will return to their country as dead bodies, and their parents will shed tears because they came here to fight in a war that does not exist, Noriega added.

Noriega concluded: I thank you for this opportunity to say this. I will conclude by saying that the U.S. establishment was fully involved in the 3 October events in Panama. The objective was to kill a leader, to kill Noriega. However, killing Noriega would not kill the Panamanian people's cause, which is achieving its liberation. We do not want U.S. soldiers or any foreign soldiers in our country. U.S. people are being led to believe that the United States is the guardian of democracy. However, in so doing, the United States is encouraging the same thing it criticizes: neocolonialism. It is racism in Panama. To the U.S. people, I extend my heart, an embrace, my hand, and some advice: Beware of the establishment.

Thanks People for Statements

PA0810173289 Panama City Television Service in Spanish 1651 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Statement by Panama Defense Forces Commander General Manuel Antonio Noriega; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] I want to address all the Panamanian people to state my gratitude for the moral and spiritual statements of support that have strengthened the position of Commander Manuel Antonio Noriega and his men at a critical moment when the fate of Panama and its liberation movement were at stake.

I want to thank all the women, children, men, unions, popular forces, political parties, peasants, workers, professionals, all the men and women who gave us strength, who knew what to do, who did not get confused.

I thank them.

I am taking advantage of this opportunity to also thank all the military men who fulfilled their duty. Panama's fate was at stake.

I am just one man, but as a man who represents a liberation movement, I want to reiterate that those who believe that when a man dies, the cause he defends also dies are mistaken. Panama's cause of liberation and sovereignty will not die with the death of any man, not ever. Men are steps for reaching an objective.

Thank you, Panamanians. Thank you, women of Panama. Thanks to all the people who prayed for us, to the unknown heroes, to the unknown women who as heroes played a most important role, a role that no one will ever know they played.

A kiss, a fraternal kiss, a fraternal embrace goes to those women who played this important role, to all the women who worked on our behalf. To them I say this positive message: If God is on our side, no one can be against us.

Thank you, Panamanians. Thank you, liberation movement toward sovereignty.

To Panama our lives.

Preparing 'Purge' of Officers

PA1010151889 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1420 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Report by Andreu Claret]

[Text] Panama City, 10 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Government sources have announced that Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega is preparing to purge the officers who were involved in or were undecided during the thwarted coup attempt on 3 October, and he is considering the promotion of several majors and captains whose decisive actions thwarted the coup attempt.

According to one of these sources, who requested that his name not be disclosed, Noriega is considering an "in-depth" restructuring of military information services (G-2), whose chief Colonel Guillermo Wong has been arrested along with Colonel Julio Ow Young, who years ago held the same position.

The general is also planning, according to the same source, the probable promotion to colonel of Lieutenant Colonels Nivaldo Madrinan, Luis Antonio Cordoba, and Carlos Arosemena King.

Cordoba, currently chief of the National Traffic Directorate, and Madrinan, director of the National Department of Investigations (DENI or police criminology department), who was wounded during the shootout, played major roles in Noriega's defense when he was in the hands of the coupists.

Even though they were not directly involved in the coup, Wong, Ow Young, and Lieutenant Colonal Armando Palacios Gondola have been accused of "cowardice," according to a relative of one of those under arrest.

Military spokesman Major Edgardo Lopez Grimaldo, who is one of those closest to Noriega, yesterday said that "a reorganization of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] is expected because there was (U.S.) penetration of a combat company."

A military attache interviewed by ACAN-EFE also described as probable the promotion to a higher rank of Lieutenant Colonel Aquilino Sieiro, a brother-in-law of Noriega; and Major Daniel Delgado, who was at Noriega's side during the assault on the garrison, in which Sieiro was wounded.

Another Panamanian military source, who also asked not to be identified, said that captains of units who acted decisively in the fight against the coup makers and in Noriega's liberation may also be included in the promotions.

Those promoted could include Captains Gonzalo Gonzalez, who is in charge of the "Machos de Monte" Company; Camilo Vega, who commands the "Tigres de Tinajita" unit; and Heraclides Sucre, who commands the "Pumas of Tocumen." These three units and Battalion 2000, which is commanded by Major Federico Olechea—who is also up for promotion—played a decisive role in quelling the uprising.

The arrival of men from these four units at the central headquarters where Noriega was being held was decisive in subduing the rebels of the 4th "Urraca" Company, which was commanded by Major Moises Giroldi, leader of the abortive coup who was killed along with nine other coupists.

As for the purges, analysts believe they will affect primarily the G-2, whose previous commander, Colonel Bernardo Barrera, was implicated in the coup of 16 March 1988, and other units whose officers were implicated in the abortive coup.

These units are the Urraca, which was in charge of guarding headquarters at the time; the 1st "Doberman" Public Order Company, whose commander, Edgardo Sandoval, was killed; the Cavalry Squad that was commanded by Captain Javier Licona, who has taken refuge at a U.S. military base; and the Special Forces Command, whose commander, Captain Jesus George Balma, is among those under arrest.

FDP spokesman Lopez Grimaldo said yesterday that "vigilance will be increased, because the United States will intensify its infiltration."

One of the general's main civilian aides, lawyer Renato Pereira, told ACAN-EFE that "the coup failed because of the general's courage and the loyalty of key units."

Pereira said that the major and five captains responsible for the uprising, all of whom were killed, "were all alumni of the Nicaraguan Military Academy," where they studied in the times of rightist dictator Anastasio Somoza, who was overthrown in 1979 by the Sandinists.

According to some observers, the result of this will be an acceleration of the training of military personnel in the Panamanian Benjamin Ruiz School, which will graduate its first class of officers in the next few years.

As for the consequences of the abortive coup on the future unity of the FDP, Pereira said that "Noriega's attitude enhanced his military leadership."

Discussion on Noriega's Speech

PA0610194289

[Editorial Report] Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish at 1200 GMT on 6 October broadcasts the 75-minute "Paths of Liberation" program hosted by journalists Euclides Fuentes Arroyo and Baltazar Renan Aizpurua with guest Rigoberto Paredes, former legislator of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD. Aizpurua says that today's program is devoted to discussing General Manuel Antonio Noriega's speech to a women's group in Santiago, Veraguas Province, on 5 October and to "the Pentagon's confession that the United States was involved in the frustrated coup by the rebels who were defeated by the Defense Forces [FDP] loyal to Gen Noriega."

Referring to Christian Democratic Party leader Ricardo Arias Calderon's statement that "the attempt to stage a coup and to assassinate Noriega weakens Noriega," Paredes says that Arias Calderon "is an imbecile. He does not have any idea what he is talking about. He is a liar and a hypocrite. That is why he does not understand what is happening. If there is a figure who is today stronger than ever in Panama, it is our leader, Manuel Antonio Noriega. Just look at what happened in Santiago on 5 October. The number of women at the event is not what counts —even though there were many. What counts is the enthusiasm and excitement of those women. Each one counted for 1,000. That is what the crazy nun [reference to Arias Calderon] has to understand. Even though the spurious rebel communique was broadcast, Arias Calderon was unable to get the people to go to the streets to support that treasonous act in which he, Arias Calderon, was fully involved—just like the U.S Army South in Panama—because they were the promoters and financial backers of that action."

In regard to the rebel "traitors," Aizpurua says that international news agencies report that U.S. Senator Jesse Helms stated that "Major Moises Giroldi [leader of the coupists] was executed by Noriega, who actually fired the shot." Aizpurua adds: "Helms thinks that with this statement he is going to cause further harm to Noriega's image. This lunatic, who—unfortunately for the U.S. people—is degrading the U.S. Senate because he does not deserve to be a representative of the U.S. people, wants to tarnish Noriega's reputation with this statement. We say: What if it is true? We have been saying that treason to the fatherland must be paid for with one's life. This is the only crime for which the death penalty must be applied here. I have said I do not agree with the death penalty, but in the case of treason to the fatherland, one must apply the death penalty. And if Noriega's finger pulled the trigger, so what, Mr Jesse Helms? His is the hand of a patriot executing disloyalty and treason and defending the principles of this revolution. We have said that we will give our lives for Panama, so the traitors must also pay for their actions with their lives.

"Nevertheless, U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, who is the the Pentagon chief, characterized Helms' statements as rubbish. Cheney subsequently admitted

that the conspirators, the traitors, had met with Marc Cisneros. As happens every time they commit a blunder, Cheney gave a ridiculous excuse, saying that the military exercises the U.S. forces were carrying out since early that morning were a coincidence; that the closing of the Inter-American highway was a coincidence; that the mobilization of armored vehicles and troops to block the forces loyal to Gen Noriega in Amador was a coincidence; that the helicopters' low-level overflights of the city and the entire country was a coincidence."

Fuentes continues the discussion, stressing that Noriega "is confronting an imperialist government that throughout history has a record of assassinations of important persons." He adds: "As Noriega said yesterday, with its technology, the United States assassinated General Torrijos. Since everything has failed for them, their immediate plans include the assassination of Gen Noriega." Fuentes continues: "There is a long list of assassinations by the Central Intelligence Agency, for which the U.S. Government is directly responsible. The U.S. Government is not only a government of thieves but also of assassins. They are thieves because they are stealing the Panamanian people's funds."

Paredes returns to Jesse Helms' statement that Noriega killed Maj Giroldi, saying: "I ask myself, as Baltazar asked earlier, what was expected? Let us suppose that Noriega defended himself. What do you expect from a man who was cornered, who was a hostage, who was a prisoner for more than 3 hours—as he said yesterday—in the midst of a hail of bullets against him and the people who were with him?"

Paredes then brings up the topic of Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez' position on Panama, saying that he proposes that the Panamanian Presidency not receive any more phone calls from Perez. Paredes explains that "the scoundrel [Perez] called after hearing unconfirmed news agency reports that Noriega was dead or a prisoner."

Paredes adds that, at that time, "the U.S. Army trucks were waiting for Noriega to be turned over—dead or alive—and when this did not happen, shameless and genocidal Carlos Andres Perez called up Vice President Carlos Ozores at the Presidency—I was there with him—to ask about the situation. This was at a time when the rebels had not yet surrendered to Noriega, and shooting was still going on. Ozores very intelligently, patriotically, and calmly replied: Don't worry, Mr President, everything is under control here.

"Perez, in a very surprised voice, asked: How can that be? Ozores told him: Yes, Gen Noriega has the situation under control. There was a coup attempt but the country is calm." Paredes stresses that Perez' call was very different from the call from Nicaraguan President Ortega, who gave Ozores a message of encouragement and of support for Noriega.

Paredes says that the Venezuelan president is now threatening to expel Panama from the Group of Eight but that "they have already practically expelled Panama from the Group. What is even more serious, they have threateningly said that the Torrijos-Carter treaties might be in danger. That is what the scoundrel said. Carlos Andres Perez is a scoundrel. How could he say that? That would mean that all international treaties in the world are worthless. No treaty in the world says that in order to be fulfilled, such and such a government must be in power in the country." Paredes concludes: "Carlos Andres Perez can go to hell. All those who think they can intimidate us can go to hell."

In conclusion, Aizpurua brings up the subject of the opposition's campaign of civil disobedience, saying that "tax revenues have dropped, not because of the economic crisis but because they are not paying their taxes. The assets of all these tax evaders who do not want to meet their obligations to the state and to the people—the people do pay their taxes—must be confiscated. If factories are involved, then they must be run by the workers until the owners pay everything they owe to the Panamanian state. After they pay, then their factories, stores, or whatever would be returned. A strong hand must be applied against them. Remember that Al Capone was arrested for tax evasion in the United States. What is more, on ending this Path of Liberation program, I propose that we should put a lien against every last nail of the U.S. companies that are still here exploiting the workers, that are not paying taxes because of Bush's orders."

Report Denies Noriega's Israeli Bodyguards

PA0710010389 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2358 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] The Panama Defense Forces [FDP] hereby report to the people and the world that their commander in chief has no Israeli bodyguards, security agents, or advisers, and that he presently does not have and has not had any ties with Israelis.

The commander in chief's security agents are all Panamanians, a FDP communique said. The document added that the AFP news dispatch issued today referring to the Jerusalem newspaper HADASHOT is completely false and disinformative, and is part of the U.S. Government's great plan to sow pressure and disinformation against Panama by using the press of friendly countries.

President Rodriguez Interviewed on Situation

PA0710025989 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0155 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Mexico City, 6 Oct (EFE)—Francisco Rodriguez, Panamanian provisional president, thinks the stance that "Latin America adopted in the case of Panama prevented an open and armed intervention by the United States."

In an interview conducted during his return flight to Panama and published in the Mexican newspaper EL

DIA on 6 October, Rodriguez pointed out he is convinced that the United States "had a hand" in the 3 October military uprising in his country.

He said: "Proof of this is that Southern Command members 2 days before had blocked the streets later used by the troops that rebelled against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, Panama Defense Forces chief.

He added: "The fact that some Latin American countries have not supported Panama as the government would have liked was because of pressure, and perhaps a total lack of knowledge of our reality."

He also said: "Under no circumstances do we intend to reproach any Latin American countries. These countries must understand, however, that, just as Panama has been intervened in and attacked, any country on the continent risks the same fate."

Rodriguez, who made a technical stopover in Mexico on his flight back from New York—where he delivered a speech at the UN General Assembly on 3 October—said he is a product of "the Torrijist experience that opened broad opportunities for sectors of the Panamanian society that had not had access to decision-making.

The Panamanian provisional president concluded the interview by saying that the cessation of "all military and economic aggression" is indispensable for the advance of the democratic forms in his country.

U.S. Level of Involvement in Insurrection Suspect

Bush Seen Lying About Involvement

PA0910200589 Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 4 Oct 89 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Bush, the Liar"]

[Text] In view of the formidable impact of loyalty prevailing over treason, one now can clearly see the true manipulator of the uprising that a tiny group of officers of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] staged yesterday, with the primary objective of killing FDP Commander Manuel Antonio Noriega and taking control of the military institution. It was an action in which the forces of the Southern Command, stationed on the banks of the canal, participated actively on insructions from Bush, the liar. They blocked access roads to the military headquarters where the betrayal was carried out.

Indeed, the "Yankee" forces blocked the Inter-American Highway near Loma Cova in Arraijan, and surrounded the Balboa and Amador garrisons, as well as the navy and other installations.

The opposition forces also participated in the attack. They were informed of the details of the coup, because Endara disappeared from the site of his hunger strike. Ricardo Arias Calderon also disappeared.

How much did the 3 October abortive adventure cost the U.S. people? George Bush and his clique, who are determined to wipe out our country and subdue us through (?hunger), know. Now they have devoted themselves to bribing the small group of officers who did not believe that Gen Noriega is this country's leader, that he has the people's support, and that he is prepared to give his life to keep the Torrijist ideals of national liberation alive.

With the failure of the latest strategy, it is necessary and prudent for peace in the region for Mr Bush to realize that the time has come to take his hands off Panama, and that his machinations and strategy of intimidation have failed. This will also be the fate of his economic aggression, which seeks to condemn the people to hunger. He does not realize that he is also strangling the seditious ones, whose businesses are on the verge of bankruptcy.

Yesterday's abortive attempt demonstrates once again the unmovable loyalty of the FDP troops to their general, general staff, and higher commands, because not even a voluminous wad of bills or the prospect of taking command of the military institution will prevent the FDP, along with the Panamanian people, from remaining at the side of their general, a man who has been able to say no to the arrogance of the United States, which is seeking to impose its colonialist ambitions on Panama.

The Panamanian people have demonstrated that they are loyal to the cause headed by Gen Noriega. This was demonstrated in the afternoon, when thousands of people approached the headquarters to acclaim a man who, with his magnetic leadership, has remained firm in the face of a traitorous attack.

The cause of national liberation is a single cause. Neither money from the nation of the north nor betrayal can defeat the cause of a people who are struggling, and will continue to struggle, to avoid being slaves of a nation which has exploited us for more then 80 years.

The Panamanian people have given their supreme word: For Panama, one's life! Bush's lies and all his interfering machinations will continue to come up against the iron will and indomitable courage of a people and their commander. Bush the liar may continue lying. The facts and the overwhelming evidence corroborate what has never been hidden in practice. And, like the good liar that he is, in his sick conduct he will even begin to believe his own lies.

Newspaper Implicates Contras

PA0810164089 Panama City LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL in Spanish 8 Oct 89 pp 1-A, 14-A

[Text] The United States utilized the Nicaraguan contras on 3 October, taking advantage of the fact that there remained in the Panamanian military organization students of the last promotion of the Somozist school, the EEBI [Infantry Basic Training School], which was created under the sponsorship of U.S. and Asian countries to keep Anastasio Somoza in power.

It has been reported to this newspaper that the Nicaraguan contras, displaced from or demobilized in their struggle against Nicaragua, utilized their companeros in the Panama Defense Forces, on special instructions from Washington, to get into Panama, just as has been reported by U.S. news dispatches and Costa Rica's Radio Impacto. On television, a hooded "Commander David" said the contras "had been promised financial security for their mercenary activities, and that Panama was the target country."

The U.S.-made plan was to be based on the financial support that the U.S. establishment had promised the contras, so the plan could be fully justified before administrative agencies, including the U.S. Congress.

In addition, the U.S. public, who did not believe a word of what their political leaders told them, could thus have the satisfaction of knowing that the supposed armed "democratic liberation" was entering Panama to overthrow a government that is carrying out a liberation process to achieve full sovereignty and fulfillment of the Torrijos-Carter treaties.

Overwhelming proof of Washington's hand in the plan is that the rebels participating in the most recent armed incident came from the Somozist school. This is indicated by their names. Major Moises Giroldi, who assumed full responsibility for the operation, Captain Juan Arza, Capt Leon Tejada, Capt Nicasio Lorenzo Tunon, Capt Edgardo Sandoval, and Capt Eric Murillo.

Sandoval, of the last promotion of the Somozist school, was in charge of the school's economics through family businesses. Antonio Payan Rodriguez, alias "Mike Lima," Sandoval's pal and prominent member of the Nicaraguan contras staff, reportedly remained out of sight while working at the body repair and mechanics shops.

It has been confirmed that one of the main U.S. interests in continuing to manage the Panama Canal is handling revenues and expenditures. Canal revenues is the source of money the United States uses in its dirty war. This budget is not controlled by the federal administration or the U.S. Treasury. This is why the Panamanian members of the Panama Canal Commission have always been refused access to the books in which the revenues and expenditures of this wealth are registered.

Although it has been said that much of the money used in the Iran-gate actions was blocked by the canal administration, all of which has precluded legal action by the U.S. Treasury, canal revenues are used for invitations, luxury expenses, excessive transfers, and U.S. Government intelligence actions.

Provisional Vice President Meets With Ministers

PA0810012389 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Panamanian Provisional Vice President Carlos Ozores Typaldos talked to a group of Lutheran ministers about the social, political, economic, and military repercussions of the U.S. aggression against Panama. Vice President Ozores met with the Lutheran ministers during a special audience. The group is on tour to gather information about the Central American situation, and promote peace in the region. The Lutheran commission is formed by (Roy Wich), assistant secretary general of the Lutheran World Federation and leaders of the Lutheran World Service, the Lutheran Church's ecumenical development commission, and the Panamanian Lutheran Church.

During the meeting the Panamanian vice president talked to the visitors about the various stages of the U.S. aggression, the acts of provocation, and military threats by the U.S. Army. He also talked about the constant, sometimes absurd, violations of the Torrijos-Carter treaties by the United States. Vice President Ozores told the Lutheran ministers that they could be influential in preventing a situation that could be truly catastrophic with repercussions in other Latin American countries; a situation that would not lead to anything positive.

Media Recounts Events of Insurrection Attempt

Radio Commentators Summarize

PA0710011489

[Editorial Report] Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish at 1600 GMT on 6 October broadcasts the 45-minute "Panama Today" program, hosted by Jose Santos Rodriguez and Lucho Bejarano.

Commenting on the 5 October speech by General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander of the Panama Defense Forces FDP in Santiago, Veraguas Province, Santos Rodriguez states that it has caused a great impact in the country. According to Santos Rodriguez, for some time he had been criticizing the fact that concessions and priviliges had been granted to the "enemies" of the government but that Gen Noriega let things pass and tried to seek a "rapprochement" with the country's "corrupt oligarchs." Santos Rodriguez says that Noriega clearly said in his speech that the "enemies" who are earning their livelihood from the government should be fired. Indicating that he agrees with Noriega, Santos Rodriguez adds: "I have direct information that in the Planning Ministry there are a large number of seditious traitors who even celebrated when they thought the 3 October action was successful. This happened at other ministries. Even though their number is small, they must be dismissed because this situation cannot continue. The newspaper CRITICA also reported that this occurred in the Foreign and Labor ministries. I think the bosses there who are sponsoring these shameless leeches, who are taking advantage of the situation in order to be on both sides, should be fired. As the commander clearly said yesterday, the supervisors and the ministers who sponsor traitors and seditious people in the government are also traitors." Santos charges that "the victory of the rebels was celebrated at the Planning Ministry. Although not

everyone was involved, there were also champagne celebrations at the Foreign Ministry. In the Labor Ministry, a small group also celebrated the fall of Manuel Antonio Noriega. It is not fair that people who went out into the streets to risk their lives for Manuel Antonio Noriega are unemployed."

Santos Rodriguez recounts that he was at Radio Nacional on the morning of 3 October, stating: "We even planned the removal of the station from where we are located to a strategic location. I want to express recognition for the anonymous heroes of the station, who despite all circumstances, remained loyal and gave us every support to take the equipment to other installations, whose location I am not going to mention, because at any moment there could be another incident and we will be sought at that location. I want to congratulate the anonymous soldiers of Radio Nacional. I have heard many last- minute heroes now saying that if they had been here, they would not have let anyone seize control of the station. Three officers came here and they pointed AK rifles at us. What could we do? We did not even have slingshots." Santos Rodriguez continues: "I am a soldier. I am a man trained in the FDP but one cannot fight against three armed men." Defending himself from charges that the station was easily taken over by rebel officers, Santos Rodriguez states: "They pointed their weapons at my friend here at the control booth, and I understand that they had orders that if the station was taken off the air, they would blow the technician's head off. I am serious. You cannot make fun of people who were loyal. On orders of Rafael Silva [Radio Nacional official], the technicians and professionals of the station set up a clandestine station, whose location we are not going to give, because a similar situation might occur in the future and then our location would be known."

At approximately 1620 GMT, Bejarano joins the program to state that a phone call has been received from the planning minister denying that there was a celebration there on 3 October. However, Santos Rodriguez replies that he can tell Noriega who were the ones celebrating because he has someone he trusts in that ministry. Santos Rodriguez stresses that as Noriega requested in his 5 October speech, he can inform on these people "who were celebrating Manuel Antonio Noriega's downfall."

Continuing to discuss the 3 October incident at the station, Santos Rodriguez states that "Manuel Antonio Noriega can be proud of the Radio Nacional personnel." He repeats that all those government employees who began to celebrate Noriega's fall should now be dismissed.

Santos Rodriguez stresses that the rebel officers' communique was broadcast only once by Radio Nacional while other stations repeated it several times. He adds that "Mr Aris de Icaza [owner of Radio Exitosa] had a feast by broadcasting the tape of the communique. He had previous knowledge that these events were going to take place. I cannot honestly say that another station did this, but in my house I was told that every 2 or 3 minutes, Mr Aris de Icaza was airing the tape, saying that everything had been achieved. I think this traitorous station, which has enriched itself at the expense of the Panamanian people, should be closed, as the commander said yesterday, and that Mr Aris de Icaza, who is a big leech, should be jailed because he was calling on the Panamanian people to go into the streets. The only thing that would have been achieved would have been the shedding of the Panamanian people's blood."

In the program segment reporting telephone calls from listeners, Santos Rodriguez states that a listener reports that "Radio Onda Popular aired the rebel communique even before Radio Exitosa."

Columnist Recounts Attempt

PA0910010889 Panama City LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL in Spanish 8 Oct 89 pp 15-A, 14-A

[Report by Luis Manuel Martinez]

[Text] It was a few minutes before 0800 on 3 October. The staff of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] was scheduled to meet at 0830. As usual, General Manuel Antonio Noriega and his bodyguards entered the back gate that leads to the central courtyard and the command's parking lot. His vehicle had just passed through when the gate closed suddenly and machinegun fire broke out.

The bodyguards' car stopped. The general was taken prisoner and led to his top floor office. Major Moises Giroldi, Captain Edgardo Sandoval, and Lieutenant Jorge Bonilla ordered the troops to destroy the office furniture and equipment and arrest all civilian and military personnel.

There was a great deal of confusion, and the situation grew more tense as time passed. Giroldi seemed to have lost control of the situation. He looked angry, nervous, sometimes incoherent.

At approximately 1100, Gen Noriega, who had already phoned the Macho Monte Company and Battalion 2000 from his office, went down to the courtyard. [sentence as published] Seeing that Captain Gaitan was being beaten, although he offered resistance [as published], Noriega sharply rebuked the captors.

Some staff members were being taken to a helicopter near the courtyard. Noriega could not control his temper and shouted: "Giroldi, you are holding a lot of prisoners. The counterattack will begin soon. You will have to kill me first. This liberation movement of the Panamanian people will never be relinquished. Stop these troops from running back and forth. Avoid bloodshed."

Giroldi and two other officers were pointing their guns at the general. The first burst was about to be fired. Giroldi hesitated, the gun trembling in his hands. He did not dare shoot.

From the courtyard, the general was taken inside the Urraca Company barracks. He continued his dramatic appeal: "Spare the innocent."

The rebels began to disband at noon when the Macho de Monte Company, Batallion 2000, and the special forces began the counterattack.

Many soldiers escaped by jumping to "A" Avenue and others climbed the wall near the "Urraca" Company barracks.

Giroldi was exhorting the rebels to resist the counterattack when a bullet brought him down. He was near the door looking for a vehicle in which to escape. Captain [Javier] Licona managed to escape by getting to Fort Clayton. He was accompanied by two sergeants and two corporals. Bonilla lay lifeless beside Sandoval.

It was 1300. This time it was not like the coup of 16 March 1988; this time the coup leaders fell in combat.

Terrified, the soldiers pointed their weapons at many El Chorrillo [low-income neighborhood adjoining FDP headquarters] residents, demanding that they give them civilian clothes. They dropped their rifles in the middle of the street and fled—some to meet their families in the interior of Panama and others to seek refuge at Fort Clayton, but they found the gates closed to them. Giroldi's family had already gone there on the night of 2 October, and Licona's group was also accompanied by relatives. The Southern Command gringos had had enough and were not willing to accept more. The gringos sent the fleeing soldiers the message: "Seek asylum at an embassy or take a bus to Costa Rica." As usual, the gringos left their henchmen stranded.

Worldwide Repercussion

Noriega's victory was covered extensively by the European and Latin American press. The generally held opinion is that President Bush ordered the uprising by troops inside the central FDP headquarters to kidnap or kill Noriega and that its failure is comparable only to the U.S. Bay of Pigs fiasco in April 1961.

The day after Washington's plot failed, Jesse Helms, Republican senator from North Carolina, presented as swiftly as a lurking panther a motion calling for Noriega to be kidnapped and tried in Miami. After a 3-year disinformation campaign against Noriega in the U.S. press—particularly in Florida, where the trial would take place—any guarantee of impartiality at the trial has faded. Federal prosecutor Lester Lehtinen—an ultraconservative Republican—said he expected Noriega to arrive at 0300 on 4 October.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST disclosed that the strings of the conspiracy were in Bush's hands 2 weeks in advance.

Protests by Democratic congressmen over Bush's ineptitude grew louder, to the point that Robert Gates, deputy national security adviser, expressed concern over the lack of coordination among the Pentagon, the State Department, the White House, and other federal agencies.

Bush, who had an obligation to do so, did not call an urgent meeting with John Sununu, White House chief of staff; Secretary of State James Baker; Defense Secretary Richard Cheney; National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft; CIA Director William Webster; and General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

During the most dramatic moments, when Gen Noriega was under arrest, Defense Secretary Cheney was in Gettysburg, site of the historic battle, with his Soviet colleague, Dimitriy Yazov. When he returned to the capital the entire coup plot had collapsed.

The Facts are Undeniable

Major Moises Giroldi asked for security for his family during his contacts with the Southern Command, and, in fact, his wife and family left their residence before dawn on 3 October. The family of Captain Javier Licona, who was careful enough to cover his rear guard, did the same thing. In effect, he was the highest ranking rebel to enter Fort Clayton, where he arrived at 1224 on 3 October.

As agreed, the Bridge of the Americas, the Panamerican Highway, and the reverted areas near the canal were blocked at daybreak by troops, armored vehicles, dump trucks, and vehicles equipped with artillery and carrying a large number of troops.

Hercules aircraft with paratroopers aboard and helicopters overflew the FDP headquarters, waiting for the order to descend.

The Yankee betrayal, the abandonment of their accomplices, took place with clocklike precision. They joined the plot, expected it to be successful, but were careful not to take any direct action.

Bush defended himself from the denunciations that ensued following his blunder: "I did the best I could according to the information we had available," he said, contradicting what he had said the previous day.

"The United States at no time had the opportunity of having Noriega handed over during the rebellion," he added, thus implicating the U.S. in the attempted kidnapping and admitting responsibility for the victims. George Bush propelled them to their deaths.

The Seized Documents

While the treacherous proclamation, which was read over Radio Exitosa, Radio Nacional, and Channel 4 Television, guaranteed the continuation of a Torrijist line with Francisco Rodriguez Poveda as president of the Republic, and announced the retirement of Gen Noriega and his staff, the documents seized from the coupists reveal a completely different story.

Phases of the Aborted Plan:

1. Installation of Guillermo Endara as president, for which purpose he was taken from the Vallarino Building at 0300 on 3 October by men in civilian dress at the service of the Southern Command.

2. Most members of the Urraca and Doberman Companies were manipulated, but they realized the seriousness of their actions when loyal forces fired at the headquarters from outside. The surrender was hastened by the arrival of Battalion 2000 and Macho de Monte Company. The rebel troops dropped their AK-47 rifles, changed to civilian clothes, and fled to nearby areas.

3. Since the military zones throughout the country would have remained loyal to Noriega, Endara would have had to request U.S. protection immediately to legitimize the Yankee invasion.

4. The servile groups would have taken to the streets to loot, seek revenge, and create a chaotic situation that would increase the need to call in foreign troops.

5. A resucitated Legislative Assembly, made up only of members of the Christian Democratic Party, MOLIRENA [Nationalist Liberal Republican Movement], and Authentic Liberal Party, would call for a debate during the 2d half of January (once the colonial state had been consolidated), approve a law to repeal the Torrijos-Carter treaties by early February, and invite the United States to negotiate a new treaty, the main clause of which would authorize an indefinite presence of the Southern Command and its 14 military bases along both sides of the canal.

Things went wrong in the 1st minutes and the plans failed; however, they have not been discarded, simply filed away until the appropriate opportunity is created.

The Veraguas Speech

Noriega reacted in the purest dialectical style by assuming the offensive in less than 24 hours. In Santiago, Veraguas Province, he proposed initiatives that he had drafted more than 2 years ago as part of a national rectification plan. He said: "As long as the aggression and economic sanctions are maintained; as long as other kinds of international aggression are maintained, Panama must face the emergency. This emergency suggests that "there should be no place or jobs for traitors here."

He pointed out that "we must draft a package of war and emergency laws to guarantee economic and labor security and security at our borders."

Using emphatic, harsh, and firm language, Noriega said: "We must issue popular laws, and those officials and ministers who do not like them can go. We must fire them!"

And in a clear demonstration that this time his words would not be gone with the wind, the PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] Political Commission, during a work session on 6 October, came up with 16 [number as published] basic bills that it will submit to the executive branch this week to avoid any delays or lengthy discussions.

President Bush's actions have consolidated the platform of the new Republic. With an iron-clad determination the general continues his liberation struggle.

CRITICA Comments on Coup

PA0710212289

[Editorial Report] Panama City CRITICA in Spanish on 7 October carries an editorial, two columns, and various messages expressing support for the "new Republic" and General Manuel Antonio Noriega following the 3 October attempted coup.

In an editorial entitled "Rectifications of the New Republic," CRITICA stresses the need for changes in the government to confront "the most crucial period" in Panama's history. "Were it not for the hopes fueled by the will to work and struggle of President Francisco Rodriguez and his government team, the future would look quite bleak," CRITICA says, adding that "old evils burdening state institutions must be removed" to allow the administration to move toward progress and efficiency. Citing excess bureaucracy, red tape, officials who delegate their own work to subordinates, and swarms of "ghost advisers" in all ministries as some of these flaws, the editorial goes on to say that "the new Republic must also reorganize Panama's foreign service" and remove career officials who have lost contact with the nation after many years abroad.

"The worst flaw," CRITICA says, is the "Trojan horse," that is, "public employees who are enemies of sovereignty and national independence." In conclusion, it says: "We are certain that this time the new Republic will do away with all of these evils for the good of the Panamanian state."

In a "Political Arena" column entitled "The Panamanian Generational Struggle," Elda Maud de Leon says that, 10 years after the signing of the Torrijos-Carter treaties, U.S. actions seem to indicate that the United States "now realizes that the Panamanian people's nationalism is consistent" and that it must do something to to change the terms of the treaties. She adds that "negotiating with weak governments is the gringos' forte," but this opportunity did not materialize in the May elections; therefore, the United States has only one option left: "to divide the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] ... otherwise, it will have to unleash an armed aggression," and this would arouse international condemnation and "difficulties in its relations with the Soviet Union." She insists that U.S. Government claims that it did not participate in the attempted coup are proved false by U.S. troop deployments and helicopter flights over the Balboa and Ancon areas during the fighting. De Leon exhorts Panamanians not to allow the "gringos" to make "brother kill brother, as they have

done with other nations" and notes that "all FDP members must realize this and remain united while ignoring the gringo siren songs."

A "History and Truths" column by Elia Sepulveda-Diez entitled "The White House Madhouse," notes that "the schizophrenia and paranoia" of many U.S. leaders and native Panamanian traitors became obvious when the news of the coup attempt in Panama became known. The column says that the U.S. Government kept insisting it had nothing to do with the coup attempt, while admitting that it did have "prior knowledge that this would happen." However, "the military uprising, planned and financed by them, failed... The fat one [Guillermo Endara] who was dieting went out to seek refuge, Big Mouth [Juan] Sosa was pulling his hair out, [Jose] Blandon fell down in a fit of hysteria, and the three stooges—Helms, Kerry, and D'Amato—became the laughingstock of commentators in their own country!" The column adds that it was apparent to the world that the "madmen" in the White House "were wrong about Panama again."

CRITICA also publishes communiques, resolutions, and messages of support for Gen Noriega and the government in the wake of the attempted coup from:

—The Embera Indians
—The Labor Party chapter of San Miguelito District
—Public Works Ministry personnel
—Political Committee of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD,

at the National Malaria Eradication Service
—Employees of National Casinos
—Panamanian Journalists Union
—PRD Women's Front and Culture Commission
—National Committee for the Defense of Sovereignty and Peace
—Governor's Office of Panama Province
—Committee for the Defense of the Fatherland and Dignity

[CODEPADI] of the Education Ministry
—Workers of the Panama Port Authority
—Workers Union of the National Institute of Telecommunications
—CODEPADI of Banco Nacional de Panama

MATUTINO Editorial on Coup

PA0610221289

[Editorial Report] Panama City MATUTINO in Spanish on 6 October carries an editorial and three columns referring to the 3 October coup against General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

In an 800-word editorial on page 4 entitled "Panama Increases Its Pace and Resources To Struggle," MATUTINO says that "George Bush had advance knowledge of the coup" and that the coup was "jointly hatched by him and the stateless traitors organized under the faded banners" of the Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance. The editorial notes that the U.S. President denied it, but "public statements by his advisers contradict his false assertions."

The editorial asserts that the coup was a hard and traumatic experience for the Panamanian people, and worse times may lie ahead if the wishes and predictions of "the mentors in Washington and the sons of this country who are struggling to sell it out" come true. It sees a positive side to the developments: Civilians, represented by President Francisco Rodriguez; and the military, personified by Gen Noriega "have strengthened their bonds and are resuming their march toward victory with a single goal: the year 2000." The newspaper carries on page 4 Adolfo Benedetti's column "The People's Compass." The 600-word item notes that after the foiled coup against Gen Noriega, the role of the civilian sectors supporting the revolution "and the agenda for liberation designed by Omar Torrijos Herrera" must be enhanced. To consolidate its grip on power, "the revolution requires that parties and groups with a different organic nature form a unified front" to close the door to faulty thinking and to potential instances of destabilization, "which will be fueled by the regime's foes."

The column adds that the coup attempt must not be viewed as one more case in the chain of events that have occurred "after the low-intensity war was launched against us" in order to firmly hitch Panama to the "geopolitical wagon of U.S. hegemonism."

Ricardo Lince's column "Let the People Judge," bylined by J. Nunez L., on page 5 and 400 words in length, entitled "The Trammel Net is Still Laid" notes that "the recent foiled uprising, no matter how complex in its interrelationships, has exposed to the continent how the former CIA director and current chief of the FBI, DEA, CIA, and special services with private budgets," that is, President Bush, "became clearly entangled not only in the direct organization" of the coup but "in the betrayal of the traitors." It adds that the intermediary between the rebels and the CIA was unable to close a link in the plan and that "this intermediary, who was one of the masterminds of the adventure of Tuesday, 3 October ,and co-author of the pseudo-Torrijist communique (who is also at large), did not keep the facts [last word in English], as the gringos say, in mind: It was Gen Noriega or Nothing."

Conspirators of all kinds and colors must become convinced that "the imperialists do not like or believe in any Panamanian, no matter how traitorous he is." It notes that "this time Bush himself became entangled in Noriega's trammel net."

The newspaper carries "Faust's Mailbox" on page 4, 900 words in length, under the heading of "The Aggression: An Escape Route." It begins by noting that after "the White House and the retrogressive, neo-fascist U.S. congressmen became aware of the Panamanian reality, and the loyalty of our Armed Forces," the United States escalated its disinformation campaign against Panama

and mobilized to carry out "who knows what nefarious plans and actions it may have in mind for the future."

It adds that "nevertheless, to the surprise of reporters who interviewed him, Guillermo Ford, speaking in perfect English, rejected the intervention of the Yankee soldiers in our internal affairs." "We do not know if he said this insincerely but his flawless English conveyed the message to millions of U.S. citizens."

The column adds that having failed to obtain Ford's endorsement for a military action against Panama, the U.S. media turned to two merchants who asked that Gen Noriega be kidnapped. It notes that "thus the great northern power is thinking of a vulgar murder as a means to get rid of a citizen who has been placed by destiny in a position to raise the banner of national liberation."

The column adds that the U.S. Government does not represent the true will of the U.S. people, "who are being kept dormant with drugs supplied by their own government."

Foiled Coup 'Welcomed Evil'

PA0710014789 Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 6 Oct 89 pp 1, 8

[By Garritt H Geneteau D]

[Text] The coup attempt of a group of military officers, with the support of the United States, to overthrow General Manuel Antonio Noriega from the leadership of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] was a painful experience. However, it has strengthened the Torrijista process of national independence, and has led the patriotic forces into taking measures that are essential.

Renato Pereira, political leader [and FDP adviser] made the above statements yesterday and added that the unsuccessful coup attempt was a "welcomed evil" because it has raised the national conscience.

He also said that the unsuccessful military coup has led to the launching of measures that will undoubtedly contribute to the strengthening of the nationalist process headed by Gen Noriega and the FDP members.

Renato Pereira described Gen Noriega as a "man of special qualities, a political and military leader with well-founded principles, and a figure in modern and universal history.

U.S. Military Presence in Country Continues

Helicopter Drops 'Load'

PA0710002689 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2343 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] In an act of provocation and intimidation by the illegal U.S. Southern Command, within the framework of its aggression against the Panamanian people, U.S. Black Hawk military helicopters flew very low over El Chumical village, Veracruz, this morning and dropped a suspicious load approximately 300 meters from the beach. This was reported by frightened residents of the fishing village. The incident occurred at approximately 0930, abruptly interrupting the peace in that poor beach community. Marcial A. Lobo, a fisherman who lives in El Chumical, charged that U.S. planes and helicopters are constantly flying low above that small village, causing indignation and unrest among the residents and endangering the lives of hundreds of persons.

While Televisora Nacional reporters were in El Chumical, several of these U.S. war planes flew recklessly, and very low, over the small village before the frightened eyes of little children, who were playing on the beach and other areas. The U.S. military presence made the children panic. One of them witnessed this morning's drop. He told us what happened.

[Begin unidentified child's recording] The U.S. helicopter flew over this area and dropped a box. The box fell into the water. It flew up and dropped something like a (?helmet). The other helicopter circled the area and then flew in that direction [not further identified] scaring us. We came running over here and the helicopter turned around and went to pick the others [not further identified] up. [end recording]

We must point out that up to 1530 today, no U.S. Army personnel had returned to try and recover the mysterious load that fortunately fell into the ocean and not over the village.

Accused of Firing at Civilians

PA0810155489 Panama City LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL in Spanish 8 Oct 89 p 1-A

[Text] Bogota, Colombia, 7 Oct (Press-Col) [dateline as published]—Results of investigations received in this capital indicate that the U.S. Army forces stationed in the Panama Canal area fired at the Panamanian civilian population during an insurrection by a group of members of the Panama Defense Forces on Tuesday, 3 October.

According to reports, the U.S. soldiers fired 120 mm mortar shells and rockets, among other projectiles, endangering civilians in Panama City.

The Southern Command's military installations in Quarry Heights were used to intimidate the peaceful population. This was an additional display of arrogance by the northern superpower, which is not concealing its interest in keeping Panama under its control and thus ignoring the Torrijos-Carter treaties once and for all so as not to turn over the administration of the Panama Canal to Panama as stipulated in those treaties.

Aside from firing long-range missiles, the U.S. Army (which is already recognized as an invading army) went on and closed roads and searched Panamanian citizens who were transiting through their own territory that day because it thought that rebels had accomplished their

plans against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces, and the legally established government.

Officer Accused of Spying Attempts

PA09101607 89 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 9 Oct 89 pp 1, 14

[Text] Under the pretext of a routine visit to an American inmate, Lieutenant Colonel R.S. Perry, a ranking U.S. Army South officer, attempted to gather strategic military information regarding the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] central headquarters installations and the Modelo jail.

Lt Col Perry's attempt at espionage constitutes further Southern Command involvement in Panama's internal affairs. Perry's actions came when he and Dr Ruffer [not further identified] "visited" Reverend Dana Lance Keith, who is serving a 35-year sentence for the murder of his wife Djaris A. Keith.

The spy, Lt Col Robert S. Perry, is currently one of the Americans on the Joint Committee for the implementation of the Torrijos-Carter treaties.

Dana Lance reported the questioning to which he was subjected by Lt Col Perry, who insistently asked about the number of inmates at the Modelo Jail who were involved in the military coup attempt on 3 October, where arms are kept, where his cell is exactly, and whether or not the other inmates looked worried.

Lt Col Perry also asked Lance how Major Jorge Correa looked. Lance told him that he had seen nothing because he was locked up, and added in his report to the authorities that the U.S. Government now wants to use him, to make him a source of information and a tool in its campaign to harm the Panamanian people.

All of this constitutes further proof of U.S. involvement in Panama's internal affairs and its direct participation in the attempted military coup on 3 October, but the United States has again bungled.

'Invaders' Alarmed Civilians

PA06101616 89 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 5 Oct 89 p 5

[From the "Scoops" column]

[Text] Witnesses have said that during the attempted military coup, the gringo invaders fired their cannons up in the air in order to create greater alarm among the Panamanians. This took place close to the "border" [between Panama City and the Panama canal area] in El Chorrillo neighborhood.

Reportage on Major Giroldi's Death, Funeral

Officer Denies Noriega Involvement

PA06102248 89 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2200 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 6 Oct (DPA)—Benjamin Colamarco, commander of the militias known as the "Dignity Battalions," today said that General Manuel Antonio Noriega did not kill Major Moises Giroldi, leader of the 3 October failed coup d'etat launched at the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] headquarters.

Rejecting a statement made in Washington by U.S. Congressman Jesse Helms, who said that Noriega shot Giroldi after he laid down his weapons, Colamarco said that the leader of the failed coup died during an exchange of fire with troops loyal to the FDP commander.

Colamarco said that Military Intelligence (G-2) chief Colonel Guillermo Wong, one of the officers involved in the failed coup, had summoned him to the general headquarters on the same day of the uprising. Colamarco now believes that Wong was planning to "arrest" him and neutralize the leadership of the "Dignity Battalions."

Colamarco, commander of 20,000 militiamen, said that throughout the day he held both direct and telephone conversations with two other officers who participated in the movement against Noriega, Colonels Armando Palacios and Julio Ow Young, and that he got the impression that the two officers were maintaining a "passive attitude" in light of the serious incidents that were occurring inside the headquarters.

The coup against Noriega failed, above all, because the rebel officers were waiting for the "U.S. troops to give them direct support attacking the loyal forces," Colamarco added.

FDP Spokesman Denies Rumors

PA09102155 89 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2049 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Major Edgardo Lopez Grimaldo, Panama Defense Forces (FDP) spokesman, denied today that some of the officers involved in the foiled 3 October coup had been executed, as U.S. media has reported.

Lopez Grimaldo said "It is false that Major (Moises) Giroldi--head of the attempted coup—was executed," and added that Giroldi "died in combat against the loyal troops" that arrived to support General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

The Panamanian military spokesman, who spoke in front of the headquarters that was attacked by the coupists, also denied that any of the soldiers involved in the coup were executed, as the U.S. newspaper "THE NEW YORK TIMES" reported.

According to this newspaper, which quoted unidentified diplomatic sources, Noriega "who was furious" ordered the immediate execution of several officers involved in the coup.

The "war bulletin" published by the FDP after the foiled coup, indicated that, among the coupists, there were 10 killed, 37 arrested, and 5 soldiers sought refuge on U.S. military bases in Panama.

During Giroldi's funeral that was held today in Panama City, his mother cried: "They killed my son." Also, the mother of another dead officer, Captain Leon Tejada, said her son had been shot in the right temple.

Major Lopez Grimaldo, responding to rumors that Gen Noriega himself had participated in the death of the coupist leader, added that "Noreiga had nothing to do" with Giroldi's death. He also said that "Giroldi was a traitor who paid for his big mistake with his life."

The military spokesman stated that the soldiers under arrest "are being subjected to an in-depth investigation" that will first be military and later civil, "because they did not only attempt to overthrow (Noriega) but also the country's stability."

Lopez Grimaldo denounced the existence of a "covert U.S. plan to eliminate Noriega" and stated that the FDP will "redouble its surveillance because (U.S.) penetration is going to increase." He also hinted that the FDP will be restructured "because a combat company was penetrated" and said that the so-called "emergency laws"—to confront the situation created by the attempted coup—will be approved "in the following hours."

Coup Leader Buried 9 Oct

PA0910195089 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1910 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Major Moises Giroldi, head of the 3 October aborted military coup against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, was buried today in Panama City amid heartbreaking lamentations from his mother, Alicia Vera, who sobbed and cried: "They killed my son."

Giroldi's wife, Delia, and his three children, who sought refuge in a U.S. military base on the outskirts of Panama City before the uprising, did not attend the funeral.

Giroldi's relatives confirmed that the four sought "refuge" but did not say where.

A sister of the late military officer, whose body showed a bullet wound on the right side of his neck, asked her mother to keep quiet when she repeated for a second time: "They killed my son."

Esther de Tejada, the mother of Captain Leon Tejada, another of the 10 "dead coupists" included in a "war bulletin" issued by the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] headed by Noriega, attended the funeral and repeated the same phrase.

According to the mother of Captain Tejada, who was buried on 7 October, he was shot in the right temple.

So far, there have been no official details about the time and circumstances of the death of the rebel officers. In addition, the authorities have not commented on reports according to which some of the coupists surrendered and turned over their weapons when they saw that the coup attempt had failed.

A Giroldi relative, who asked not to be identified, said that they received an FDP call this morning advising them to pick up his body today.

According to this same relative, they were also told that the funeral had to be held at 1100 (1600 GMT) at the "San Juan Bautista de La Salle" church, also known as the "stone church," located in a poor neighborhood on the city outskirts. After the funeral services, which were attended by some 80 people, Giroldi's remains were buried at Jardin de Paz Cemetery, also on the outskirts of the capital.

According to one of Giroldi's relatives, the authorities have also turned over the remains of other deceased officers to their relatives.

Captain Tejada's mother said he had just returned from Namibia, where he served as a member of the Panamanian contingent of the UN "blue helmets," and that he had a 1-month-old daughter.

According to Mrs Tejada, on the day of the rebellion her son told his wife that he had to do "some work at headquarters," and that he would return in the afternoon to take the baby to her grandmother's house.

"That was the last I heard of him," the captain's mother said.

On Tuesday, 3 October, a group of young officers, led by Maj Giroldi, commander of the Urraca Battalion, attempted to oust Noriega, but were subdued by troops loyal to the general, even though they had managed to capture Noriega and hold him hostage for 4 hours.

According to the "war bulletin" issued by the FDP the next day, 10 soldiers (all "putchists") were killed, 26 wounded, and 37 arrested (including 2 colonels who were members of the General Staff), while 5 others are "at large" (in refuge at a U.S. military base, like Giroldi's wife and children).

Family, Journalists at Funeral

PA0910230789 Paris AFP in Spanish 2119 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 9 October (AFP)—Major Moises Giroldi, who headed the 3 October foiled coup against General Manuel Antonio Noriega was buried in Panama City today with some 50 relatives and dozens of press photographers present.

Giroldi had his legs and ribs fractured and had "bullet and buckshot wounds on his body," according to relatives who asked not to be identified, but who nevertheless refrained from accusing anyone in particular for his death.

His wife and three children, who apparently have sought refuge at a U.S. military base in Panama, did not attend the funeral. Giroldi, 38, was commander of the Urraca Company, which was in charge of security at the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] headquarters, where the seditious movement began.

Grasping the mahogany black coffin holding her son's corpse, Giroldi's mother heart-breakingly shouted between sobs: "One of these days, all this will have to end."

Giroldi's relatives denied being threatened, and refrained from attacking FDP Commander Gen Noriega, who put down the rebellion headed by Giroldi.

On the contrary, they said they had no problems taking the corpse from the judicial morgue.

The requiem mass took place at the San Juan Bautista de la Salle Church in Parque Lefevre. Some 50 relatives dressed in white and black, and approximately 60 journalists—most of them U.S. reporters—attended.

A career military officer, Giroldi graduated in the last promotion from the Nicaraguan EEBI [Infantry Basic Training School] Military School in 1978, along with some of the other six officers implicated in the 3 October military rebellion.

According to the FDP's war bulletin, 10 rebels died and 37 officers were arrested, including three staff members, one of whom was Colonel Guillermo Wong, chief of Military Intelligence (G-2).

Witnesses told AFP that shortly after the rebellion began, Giroldi was seen riding a U.S.-made jeep inside the garrison, holding an M-16 rifle high and jubilantly shouting: "We have defeated them."

However, a few hours later, when Noriega had controlled the uprising, a war bulletin announced Giroldi's death.

Giroldi's relatives did not mention his alleged execution by Noriega, as the press and U.S. politicians have reported.

The funeral motorcade covered approximately 1 km from the La Salle Church to the Jardin de Paz Cemetary.

At the cemetary a green tent was installed and a rug covered the tomb shortly before burial.

A bronze plaque was placed over the tomb.

As silent witnesses to the funeral, in another part of the cemetary were the tombs of Captains Juan Arza, Leon Tejada, Edgardo Sandoval, and Second Lieutenant Ismael Ortega—all of whom died during the rebellion—and who were buried discreetly on 7 October.

Ruling Party Suggests New Military Code, Laws

PA0710000089 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2225 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 6 Oct (ACAN-EFE)— Following suggestions made on 5 October by General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the Panamanian Government's main political force today proposed the creation of a new military code and the amendment of more than 15 laws, including the law that regulates the press, as well as the penal and tax laws. The plenum of the Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) Political Committee and the General Secretariat today presented this proposal during a meeting held in Panama City, 4 days after the 3 October failed coup d'etat.

Rigoberto Paredes, PRD leader and former legislator, a man who enjoys Noriega's absolute trust, said that it "is indispensable" to create a new military code because "the current military code makes it difficult to try a person according to civil law."

Paredes added that they have also proposed amending the penal code to be able to act "swiftly and give exemplary punishments."

"We must act with a firm hand and strength to severely punish those who commit acts of treason against Panama," Paredes said.

On 5 October, Noriega asked for the drafting of "popular" laws and warned that the government official who does not "risk his neck has to be fired."

The Panamanian military chief proposed "drafting a package of emergency laws that contemplate economic and military security," where "laws implemented during the days of the bonanza have no place."

PRD President Carlos Duque explained that his party will present to the executive branch "a package of draft laws of a social nature," to be analyzed on an urgent basis. Duque did not specify when the draft laws would be presented.

Duque said that the PRD will propose to the executive branch "emergency financial measures," the creation of a new military code, amendments to the penal and tax laws, protection of the industry law, and the law that establishes the guidelines for the firing of a government employee.

The PRD also proposes the creation or modification of laws regulating radio, television, and the press; regulating the registration of foreign agents; and reforming the civil service system, among others.

Asked about the fate of the public employees who celebrated when they heard the communique on Gen Noriega's forced retirement, issued by a group of rebel officers on 3 October, Paredes said: "All those we can detect, we will fire."

Moreover, Duque said, "we will hold responsible all those PRD officials who do not take the proper measures within their ministries, and we will immediately fire all those who do not support the party."

"There are many unemployed people in the ranks of the PRD and in the Dignity Battalions (militiamen trained by the FDP) who could replace the traitors, who have no place in the new Republic," Duque added.

That is why, he said, "we are considering making all public employees temporary holders of their posts according to the package of laws (that will be submitted to the executive)," and those employees who are found to be "disloyal to the government will be fired," he said.

Carlos Duque Makes Announcement

PA0610213189 Paris AFP in Spanish 2111 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 6 Oct (AFP)—The Panamanian Government today announced the promulgation of a package of 16 "emergency laws," which will include severe reforms of the press, radio, and television law, and also threatened to dismiss every employee "who is not faithful" to the regime.

The announcement was made by Carlos Duque, president of the ruling Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) and its former presidential candidate, during a news conference held 24 hours after Panama's strongman General Manuel Antonio Noriega demanded "emergency measures," based on the argument that the country "is experiencing a state of war with the United States."

Although he said that "there will be no persecutions," Duque gave assurances that "employees who are PRD members but fail to adopt measures (against the opposition) will be dismissed for not answering for the party."

Duque added that "we are going to establish the temporary status of all positions," adding that "those employees against whom a lack of faithfulness to the government is proved must be dismissed."

Duque undermined the opposition's importance, saying that "we are not going to waste time analyzing their attitude," in reference to the hunger strike that former presidential candidate Guillermo Endara is carrying out in an appeal for "civil disobedience" against the Noriega regime.

A commission formed by attorneys Nander Pitty, Victor Fabrega, Augusto Valderrama, Rigoberto Paredes, Rolando Murgas, Gerardo Gonzalez, David Amado, Mauro Murillo, Hector Aleman, and Ramiro Vasques is preparing the final texts of the laws.

Duque said that Panamanian Provisional President Francisco Rodriguez and his 25-member cabinet will approve the emergency measures announced today through decrees.

Finance, Penal, Media Covered

PA0610222689 Paris AFP in Spanish 2132 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 6 Oct (AFP)—The Panamanian Government has announced the promulgation of 16 "emergency laws," which include severe amendments to printing, radio, and television laws. The government warned that every "disloyal" official will be fired.

The announcement was made by Carlos Duque, president of the ruling Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD] and former presidential candidate, during a news conference convened 24 hours after Panama strongman General Manuel Antonio Noriega demanded "emergency measures," arguing that the country "lives in a state of war with the United States."

The measures announced by Duque, which will be promulgated in a decree, include an "emergency" finance law, a revision of the Penal Code, the regulation of associations, a new press law, and changes to the laws governing radio and television, traffic, and transportation.

In addition, Duque said there will be new laws on industry, the removal of public employees, the registration in Panama of foreign agents [agentes extranjeros], the civil service system, education, the Fiscal Code, and social security.

Duque warned that "in the new Panamanian Republic" the 125,000 bureaucrats must express "loyalty and patriotism" to the current regime, or else "they will be fired."

Emergency Package To Be Submitted

PA0710140789 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 7 Oct 89 pp 1, 11, 14

[Text] The National Executive Committee [CEN] of the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD] yesterday held a working, analytical, and consultative plenary session with the members of the PRD Political Commission, the presidents of the party's provincial organizations, and its national secretary to discuss a package of laws (17 in all) that will be submitted to the Executive Branch for immediate consideration. The laws involve the basic guidelines of the "new Republic."

The meeting was chaired by PRD President Carlos Duque Jaen. During the session, the 59 members of the leadership bodies of Omar's [General Omar Torrijos Herrera] party discussed the country's current situation and the need to reorganize the PRD infrastructure.

The attendees endorsed the CEN proposals regarding the need to adopt stronger, more effective measures to confront the U.S. Government's criminal meddling in our country's internal affairs.

PRD Secretary General Darinel Espino Zambrano briefed participants on the role the PRD will play in adopting a new strategy to support and expedite government efforts during these difficult times.

The PRD secretary general announced also that meetings will be held soon with various grass-roots organizations, including women's and youth organizations, to provide them with the guidelines of the "new Republic."

In addition, he reiterated the PRD's support for General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP], and criticized the recent uprising and displays of disloyalty.

Emergency Measures

Nander Pitty Velasquez, coordinator of the special commissions that are drafting the package of laws, explained the contents and application of the laws, which include:

1. Emergency financial measures
2. Revision of the penal code
3. Regulation of associations
4. Regulation of traffic and land transportation
5. Regulation of television
6. Regulation of radio
7. Revision of laws on private property
8. General guidelines for suspension and dismissal of public employees
9. Registration of foreign agents
10. Law on administrative tenure and civil service
11. Legislation on organization of decentralized agencies
12. Laws on education and personnel boards
13. Amendments to the fiscal code
14. Revision of laws on social security
15. Media law
16. Code of miliary justice
17. Amendments to the Penal Code

These bills have been drafted by the PRD Front of Professionals.

Other persons working with Pitty on the coordination of these important laws of the "new Republic" are: Augusto Valderrama, Rigoberto Paredes, Maurio Murillo, lawyer Fabrega [not further identified], Gerardo Gonzalez, Rolando Murgas Torrazza, David Amado, Ramiro Vasquez Chambonett, and Hector Aleman.

At the end of the meeting, foreign correspondents and newsmen from local media approached Duque to obtain details on this important meeting. Duque told them that the meeting had been "previously scheduled" and said that its purpose was to consider laws that would "reflect the meaning of the new Republic."

Duque said that amending the current laws means doing away with the bureaucratic structure that is slowing down the operation and evolution of the national government." [no opening quotation marks as published] Duque also referred to the initiative to create a People's Parliament, which would be made up of the corregimiento representatives who were recently appointed by the government, because they are regarded as the "base of support of the Panamanian people." He added that this People's Parliament does not preclude the creation of a Legislative Commission because the "People's Power [Assembly of Corregimiento Representatives] has clearly defined functions and the Legislative Comsission will have its own function too—to legislate."

In addition, Duque acknowledged the role women have played in the struggle for national liberation and stressed that "women are our best bulwark" in the PRD. "We are proud to say no PRD woman has ever appeared on the list of traitors."

PRD's Duque on New Measures

PA0910031089 Panama City LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL in Spanish 8 Oct 89 p 16-A

[Article by Carlos Duque, president of the Democratic Revolutionary Party]

[Text] The tension and dramatic events of 3 October have served to confirm the valor and patriotism of a leader: General Manuel Antonio Noriega. Two days later, the commander went to a ceremony in his honor hosted by the Women's Front of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, at the Juan Demostenes Arosemena Teachers School gymnasium [in Veraguas Province]. There, he shook up social structures in a dynamic fashion and placed loyalty as the supreme value in national politics. Noriega attacked treason and indifference, and said that a state of war exists that does not permit the country to engage in democratic formalities. It instead calls for the prompt adoption of laws that will permit it to assume a fighting stance to face the imperialist aggression, and that of the traitors who are obedient accomplices in the plot to destroy the fruits of sacrifice and the tenacity of our liberation struggle.

His vigorous and emotional speech portrayed the man who knew how to face the danger of imminent death calmly and with valor.

Before an enthusiastic crowd, Noriega did not ignore the people's reaction to the rising level of violence promoted by the United States.

Noriega recalled an old, strong, and valid saying: "Beat those who hesitate with a stick; to the enemy give bullets; and to your friends, silver."

His call for the approval of popular laws related to a military code, public administration careers, economic security, job security, and physical security on our borders was a clear warning that it is necessary to clean up the bureaucracy.

During his much-applauded speech, Noriega said at one point: "Whatever official does not dismiss traitors is a traitor himself."

Noriega accused the United States of assassinating Jose Antonio Remon Cantera and Omar Torrijos.

He denounced vehemently both domestic and foreign disinformation campaigns. He praised "militant public officials who are active and who risk their lives." He

added: "We have to fire those who do not. This way we will have vacancies to be filled by Dignity Battalion people who do not have jobs. We have to do it because otherwise we will be crying later over what we did not do when we had time."

Enhanced by the victory that loyalty has produced, and encouraged by the massive presence of Panamanian women, Gen Noriega took the offensive that will block imperialist penetration, abuses, systematic brutality, and cruelty.

Instead of suffocating patriotism, the traitorous aggression and the bloody plot have strengthened Noriega's spirit and his fighting nature in the face of disinformation, death threats, and the perverse use of federal funds to carry out an unspeakable action.

They bragged that they knew him. They thought he was one of so many manageable generals of our America who do not live up to the Bolivarian spirit.

The Liberator [Simon Bolivar] once said: "Periodically, the United States produces leaders whom destiny apparently has chosen to cover the North American nation with shame in the name of liberty."

The day after the historic Veraguas speech, the members of the PRD Political Committee met and agreed to recommend to the executive branch 16 measures that include emergency financial measures, revision of the penal code, regulation of associations, regulation of traffic and land transportation, regulation of television, regulation of radio, revision of laws on industrial protection, general guidelines for suspension and dismissal of public employees, registration of foreign agents, law on administrative tenure and civil service, legislation on organization of decentralized agencies, laws on education, amendments to the fiscal code, revision of laws on social security, a media law, and a military code.

This first package will allow us to set the basic guidelines for the government, and it will guarantee us that we will be on our way to fulfilling the philosophy of the new Republic.

The PRD is proud to have the responsibility of being at the helm to steer us to a series of rectifications that will help us face the situations that have been imposed on us by the multiple aggressions we are now suffering. The PRD is returning to its Torrijista essence, which is without doubt the best way we can unite to succeed in the struggle for liberation.

Speaking of Torrijism, we cannot forget about the fact that on Wednesday, our fatherland will be celebrating the 21st anniversary of the 11 October revolution, which brought about profound changes in our society and was inspired by Gen Omar Torrijos Herrera.

The current situation in the country gives additional significance to this anniversary, which nourishes the roots of our national identity.

Torrijos continues to play the leading role in this agony and pain that are keeping us in the trenches of dignity. He talked about the general succession, and one of the men who was trained according to Torrijos' principles, another general with the rank of a leader, will continue to carry the tricolored flag until the end of the road leading to the year 2000 has been reached. A new century will emerge with a truly independent nation.

See you next Sunday.

Cabinet in 'Permanent Session'

PA1010031489 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0247 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Panamanian Presidency spokesman Jose Hernandez today announced that the Panamanian Cabinet today declared itself in "permanent session" to discuss, among other things, a series of emergency laws.

Hernandez added that the ministers met today for approximately 10 hours. The meeting, which will continue tomorrow, was presided over by President Francisco Rodriguez.

The laws, requested by Panama's strongman General Manuel Antonio Noriega and promoted by the ruling Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD), have been described as "war laws" by the official media, and are designed to purge the public administration and protect the economic and military sectors.

The PRD has also suggested that the government draft a military code, and amend the current press, industrial protection, and public administration laws.

In statements today, Panama Defense Forces spokesman Edgardo Lopez Grimaldo said that according to the PRD proposal, the amendments would affect 16 laws and its implementation is only a "matter of hours."

According to Hernandez, all the issues broached during the cabinet meeting will be made public tomorrow during a news conference.

Suspend Constitutional Guarantees

PA0810180789 Panama City LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL in Spanish 8 Oct 89 p 4-A

["By the Way" column by Justo Arroyo: "War Time"]

[Text] "They want us to play at democracy while we live in a state of war."—General Manuel Antonio Noriega

The foiled 3 October coup has one big merit—it served to find a very descriptive word for our current relations with the United States. That word is war. No cosmetics or makeup is used here. This is a war that has already produced dozens of casualties, prisoners as well as exiles—and almost disaster when Gen Noriega himself physically faced extreme danger.

Making it clear that there is a state of war helps make other matters clear. It frees us from peacetime formalities. U.S. aggression has forced us to be very creative, but now that there is a declared war, the entire country must conform to an exceptional situation statute the sole purpose of which must be to safeguard the Republic, as well as Commander Noriega, the international symbol of our struggle.

Right now Senator Jesse Helms is looking for "special laws" to intervene militarily in Panama. We must respond right away with special laws to safeguard the nation.

Some of these laws must cover the following:

1. An indefinite state of siege and the explicit suspension of constitutional guarantees;

2. Suspension of habeas corpus writs so that criminals, traitors, and conspirators are not released on bail or on requests for clemency from relatives;

3. Strict control over the media with specialized censorship to prevent the airing of low-intensity-war messages and propaganda;

4. The establishment of special and expeditious military trials for traitorous military men;

5. The dismissal from public posts of people on whom there is confirmed evidence that they are seditious elements—all government posts must be of an interim nature;

6. The establishment of special trials for officials on whom there is evidence of having stolen or embezzled state property;

7. The immediate establishment of diplomatic relations with all the countries of the world;

8. The establishment of obligatory military service;

9. Full legislative authority for the Corregimiento Representatives Assembly, which should count on an advisory committee of no more than 12 members;

10. The suspension of all the laws that have produced a deterioration in national education, as well as cultural penetration;

11. A review of the credits and diplomas of all public education teachers;

12. A review of all contracts involving the establishment of all private schools and universities and of the study plans and credits of private school teachers;

13. A review of the norms of civic clubs and associations allied to imperialism and seditious elements;

14. A review of the rights, privileges, accounts, and properties of the Catholic Church in Panama;

15. Changing the name of the government of President Francisco Rodriguez from Provisional Government to Revolutionary Government of Panama.

Ritter on Abolition of Foreign Ministry Law

PA1010024589 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Panamanian Foreign Minister Jorge Ritter has told the National Information System [SNI] that the law abolished by the Cabinet established the guidelines for the Foreign Ministry, and that it was drafted in 1957. Ritter said that the Panamanian Foreign Ministry is a ministry organized during the post-war era. He added that the world has changed much over the past 30 years and the Foreign Ministry must change accordingly. Concerning the institutional structures, Ritter said that under the abolished law, the Foreign Ministry was called to maintain bilateral relations with the United States. He said that the Foreign Ministry did not have a foreign policy directorate, an economic relations general directorate, a nonaligned department, or a Panama Canal treaties directorate. Now, Ritter added, President Francisco Rodriguez' government has decided to modernize the country's foreign relations and this is why the current law was abolished.

Kam To Replace Ritter

PA1010152889 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1445 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 10 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Sources within the government reported today that Leonardo Kam, current Panamanian ambassador to the United Nations, will be proposed as new foreign minister to replace Jorge Ritter.

The nomination, confirmed to ACAN-EFE by other sources, has been communicated to Kam by President Francisco Rodriguez and has the approval of Panama's "strongman," General Manuel Antonio Noriega, chief of the Panama Defense Forces.

Abelardo Carles, present Panamanian ambassador to Ecuador, will be the deputy foreign minister, replacing Jose Maria Cabrera.

Kam, 43, a professor of philosophy and education, has lengthy experience within the Foreign Ministry, beginning in 1978. Since 1988, he has been Panama's ambassador to the United Nations, where he arrived in 1981 as assistant to then ambassador Jorge Ritter.

The sources added that the appointment will go into effect today at the end of a meeting of the Cabinet, which has been in permanent session since yesterday to approve some so-called "wartime laws", designed to cope with the situation prevailing in the country in the wake of the 3 October coup attempt.

Since the new provisional government was formed on 4 September, Ritter has remained temporarily as foreign

minister, but he turned down an offer from Rodriguez to remain at the helm of the new Foreign Ministry.

After his appointment, Rodriguez created a consultative commission made up of eight prominent members of regime to carry out an "in-depth reform" of the Foreign Ministry and of Panama's foreign policy as carried out by Ritter, which has been criticized by radical sectors of the regime.

Poll Reportedly Indicates People Support Noriega

PA0810200389 Panama City LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL in Spanish 8 Oct 89 pp 1-A, 14-A

[Report by Garrit H. Geneteau and Servio Correa]

[Text] The Panamanian people approve the laws of war. This is the consensus of the opinions gathered in a poll conducted by LA REPUBLICA reporters on 7 October. This is the stance presented by General Manuel Antonio Noriega in his much commented upon speech in an event organized by the PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] and held in Santiago, Veraguas Province, on 5 October.

"Not a Step Backwards," "Bullets for the Enemy," "We Support MAN," and "With Noriega Until the Year 2000" were some of the nationalist slogans voiced by the polled citizens who commented on Noriega's speech.

It was observed in the poll that the Panamanian people reasserted their determination for a nationalist and patriotic struggle under Noriega's leadership.

These are the words of the citizens polled.

Enrique Brito: "Gen Noriega's speech was timely and a good idea. We expect state authorities to fire the traitors from public offices so we can continue the struggle with our national liberation project."

Samuel Olmedo: "In his speech, Gen Noriega declared war on the enemies of the national liberation process. The Gen referred to the government officials who undermine the government while working for it. Not a Step Backward."

Oscar Tejeira: "The Panama Defense Forces chief spoke loud and clear. It is high time for the enemies of the process to be punished. The seditious will not pass. We will always be found standing, never kneeling."

Tailor Pinto: "We support Noriega. His Santiago speech was magnificent. I agree with him in that it is necessary to remove the names of the enemies from the state payrolls. All of those who are paid, but remain hesitant in this struggle must be fired. It is necessary to approve war-time laws to combat imperialism in this difficult time."

Nivia Lorenzo: "I am a government official. All of the enemies we have in the ministries must be removed to deprive them of the opportunity to do harm."

Miguel Andrade: "I am a street vendor of Colon Free Zone articles [cartuchero]. I have sided with Gen Noriega because he is the only one who has defended us. Thanks to him, I can take some money home to survive. I agree with what he said. A cudgel for the hesitant, bullets for the traitors, and money for friends. That is all right."

Xenia Townsend: "I will support my general until the year 2025. He knows why he said what he said in Santiago. It is true there are traitors. The home must be purged. Legal measures to forge ahead must be implemented immediately."

George Newball: "I have just returned from New York and learned what happened in Panama. I think Gen Noriega is on the right track."

Andres Martinez Filos: "I fully agree with Gen Noriega's Santiago speech. State institutions must be purged because some officials do not support the government and, in addition, balk when they do not collect on time. These officials sabotage the operation of the institutions whenever they can. I disagree with the fact that ministers and institution leaders sent their employees home on 3 October. They should have stayed at their posts, supporting the Commander."

Herminda Martinez: "Disloyal public employees must be removed."

Ricardo Icaza: "I agree with everything Gen Noriega said in Santiago, because some people are trying to destroy all that has been achieved since the time of General Torrijos. This is why our home must be purged and the seditious traitors evicted. We agree with Gen Noriega. The people need laws of war."

Juan Manuel Guerra: "The general was right in what he said. You cannot trust someone you think will back you up, but who is really trying to harm you. This includes the rebels, and also those in the public institutions who pick up their checks and simultaneously try to sabotage the country's progress. As the general said, laws for the people must be announced.

Ana George: "What Manuel Antonio said was well said. Not one step backward. It was high time. The laws of war are necessary to continue the national liberation struggle."

Marco Antonio Laure: "Noriega is right in what he said. Let the seditious be evicted, because there are many loyal people who are without a job. Let the general know we, the boys from U Street, are with him. Not one step backward."

Marquela de Laure: "Gen Noriega is right. I am a government official and defend my take-home pay. It is necessary to remove the traitors who want to harm all of us—the country, the government. This includes particularly those who earn big salaries and oppose the government."

Aixa Castillo: "One thing only: Traitors out."

11th Military Zone Chief Supports Noriega

PA0610160189 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 5 Oct 89 p 10

[Message from Major Daniel Delgado Diamante, chief of the 11th Military Zone, San Miguelito, on 3 October]

[Text] San Miguelito, 3 October 1989

Major Daniel Delgado Diamante, chief of the 11th Military Zone in San Miguelito, its officers, noncommissioned officers, and troops reiterate to the general public our loyalty and recognition to one single commander, General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Yesterday, today, and always we support the nationalist and patriotic actions undertaken by our commander in chief.

"Not one step backward, for Panama our lives."
Maj Daniel Delgado Diamante
Chief of the 11th Military Zone, San Miguelito
Panama Defense Forces

Press Agency Notes Regime's 'Cornered Syndrome'

PA0710183389 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1500 GMT 7 Oct 89

[By Andreu Claret]

[Text] Panama City, 7 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Six [number as received] days after a foiled coup against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the Panamanian regime is implementing an unprecedented hardline and radical policy aimed at creating a "new Republic."

The regime's civilian leaders have proposed the adoption of a new military code to punish those involved in the coup attempt, and new laws to fire "seditious officials who have no place in the new Republic."

Commentators of the (state's) Radio Nacional have asked in the past few days that the surviving coupists be "executed."

Encouraged by very harsh statements by Noriega, who asked for "bullets" and "blows" for the culprits and accomplices of the foiled rebellion, leaders of the regime's main party, the Democratic Revolutionary Party [PRD], yesterday announced plans to amend more than 15 laws to make them more restrictive.

"There is no room now for laws issued in boom times," Noriega said in reference to the current situation in which "fewer democracy bulletins and more war bulletins are needed."

Noriega's call, which was described by a European diplomat as a "forward retreat," found a quick echo within the PRD, whose president, Carlos Duque, presented a package of bills that would, if approved, radicalize all aspects of the regime founded by General Omar Torrijos Herrera in 1968.

In describing what the "new Republic" should be, Duque stressed the need for a new penal code, new fiscal legislation, a profound reform of public administration, and a new media law.

Observers are wondering what the immediate consequences of this hardening will be for the many soldiers who were detained for participating in the coup attempt and whose whereabouts are now unknown.

Spanish Apostolic Nuncio Sebastian Laboa, who has been forced to provide safe haven for several opposition members at the nunciature, including opposition leader Guillermo Endara, said yesterday that "it seems that there will be generalized repression."

One of the ambassadors who is still in Panama conveyed his "great concern" over what could happen in the next few days and based his pessimism on the danger posed by the fact that, according to him, Noriega has acted like a "cornered man" since the coup attempt.

The violence used by "paramilitary groups" to evict Endara from the building where he was holding a hunger strike on the evening of 5 October signals for many a bad omen of what could happen in the next few days if the regime does not get over this "cornered" syndrome.

Endara explained to ACAN-EFE the circumstances surrounding his eviction, noting that most of the officials were from the police and not, as one would expect, from the Army Intelligence Service (G-2).

A military attache who was consulted said that the G-2 "has virtually been disbanded" following the coup, in which—according to the official report—G-2 leader Colonel Guillermo Wong was implicated.

This replacement of officials by persons who are less qualified but whose fidelity has been proven is another source of concern for those who wonder what might happen in the coming days.

Military analysts also wonder what the effect the deaths—under unclear circumstances—of 10 soldiers who attacked the military headquarters will have, since the Panamanian military is accustomed to resolving its conflicts without bloodshed.

Another diplomat, who chose to remain anonymous, said that President Francisco Rodriguez voiced his concern with the turn of events the night of 5 October and spoke personally to Noriega to allow Endara to take asylum at the Nunciature since his life was at stake.

Several observers have noted the "moderation" shown by Rodriguez in several public speeches, which contrast radically with the attitude displayed by Noriega.

Rodriguez, who took office on 1 September after the May elections were annulled, insisted during his inauguration on the "provisional" nature of his term and on the need for a national concerted effort to resolve the country's crisis.

Since the day that Rodriguez was appointed, Panama has been without a legislative branch. The executive branch has governed by decree following the dissolution of the National Assembly on 31 August and pending the designation of a 41-member "Legislative Commission" to draft a new Constitution.

Opposition Leader Endara Ends Hunger Strike

PA0910155689 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1535 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Panamanian opposition leader Guillermo Endara announced today that he will end the hunger strike he began on 20 September "because the people supported the 'Not Another Cent to the Dictatorship' campaign."

Meanwhile, Endara asked the regime to explain the "bloodshed" during the thwarted coup attempt on 3 October against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, which resulted in the deaths of 10 coupist military men, according to the official report.

The 51-year-old opposition leader held a news conference this morning at the Apostolic Nunciature, where he sought refuge on 5 October after the party headquarters where he was staying was attacked.

Endara, who lost weight and whose hair grayed noticeably during his 20-day hunger strike, gave assurances that the "Not Another Cent More" campaign, with which he asked his followers to delay payment of taxes and public services and stop buying state lottery tickets, has been a "success."

Comments After Hunger Strike

PA0910180489 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1645 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Panamanian opposition leader Guillermo Endara today asked the regime to explain the "blood that was shed" during the thwarted military coup on 3 October, and announced that this morning he ended the hunger strike he began on 20 September.

Endara, who lost weight and whose hair visibly grayed during his 20-day hunger strike, assured that he was ending the hunger strike because the "Not A Cent More for the Dictatorship" campaign with which he asked his followers to delay payment of taxes and public services and not to buy state lottery tickets "had been a success."

At a news conference in front of the Apostolic Nunciature in Panama, where he sought refuge on 5 October after the party headquarters where he was staying was attacked, Endara said there "are doubts" regarding the "conditions" under which 10 coupist soldiers died, among them the leader of the thwarted coup against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, Major Moises Giroldi.

According to a "war bulletin" issued by the Panama Defense Forces [FDP], the uprising resulted in 10 dead, 26 wounded, 37 detained, and 5 "fugitives" who sought refuge at a U.S. military base on the outskirts of Panama City.

Endara expressed "concern" over the situation in the country after the thwarted coup, in which a group of young officers attempted to retire Noriega and most of the members of his general staff.

The opposition leader added that he "does not look favorably upon the continuation of the current government," as stated in the proclamation issued by the rebels before they surrendered, according to which they would recognize Francisco Rodriguez as president, and that they would maintain the "revolutionary process" established by General Omar Torrijos after the military coup in 1968.

In Endara's opinion, the rebels wanted to establish "Noriegaism without Noriega."

Endara said that he will enter a private clinic in Panama City today for medical treatment to normlize his metabolism.

"I feel very well, despite the 20 days of the hunger strike," said Endara, who held his news conference in the shade of a few pine trees on the street behind the nunciature, shortly before going to the clinic.

A medical report on the 51-year-old Endara points out that "his condition is delicate" and that "he is still exhausted" but that "his mental condition is excellent and his speech coherent."

Although he insisted that the "Not A Cent More" campaign had been "supported by the people," and that studies carried out by the opposition over the past few days had confirmed this, Endara did not quote figures, percentages, or calculations regarding the effects of the economic blockade against the government.

The opposition leader announced that he will continue opposing the regime through "peaceful means," such as those used in the past by men such as Mahatma Gandhi or Martin Luther King.

Arias Calderon on Guillermo Endara, Laws of War

PA0910211989 San Jose Radio Impacto in Spanish 1207 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Candelario Ruiz interviews Ricardo Arias Calderon, "vice president-elect" over the telephone; live or recorded]

[Text] [Arias] Today I talked for a good while with President-elect Endara, who is still on the hunger strike he started 18 days ago. I related to him the ADOC [Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance] leadership's support. We think his hunger strike has been very successful, first because it has helped the Panamanian people become acquainted with and participate in the "Not One More

Cent for the Dictatorship" drive. The drive has greatly lowered the purchases of lottery tickets. The payments to public services have been delayed. In general, the transfer of funds to the dictatorship has been greatly reduced. In addition, we think the hunger strike has been extremely successful because the people have seriously taken up the struggle for democracy. We told him that we want him to end his hunger strike because it has already awakened the Panamanian people to the struggle for liberty, justice, and democracy. We do not want to endanger the president-elect's health and physical integrity. We expect him to consider the ADOC leadership's position and announce his decision in the next 24 or 48 hours. Anyway, Endara is determined to resume his activities at the ADOC as soon as possible.

[Ruiz] What do you think could happen to Panama and all of the opposition if the so-called laws of war are implemented by the dictator?

[Arias] There is deep concern throughout the country over the announcement of the so-called laws of war. It is worthwhile analyzing them so that the Panamanian people and our friends abroad can understand what the regime has in mind for the Panamanian people. Most of the 16 or 17 so-called laws of war that are being announced over the government media are repressive in nature. The government intends to revise the penal code; regulate public associations to reduce their autonomy and freedom; regulate land traffic and transportation to establish greater control over drivers, automobiles, and the public; regulate radio and television and the press to legalize the dictatorship's control over the media; regulate the public employees' working conditions so those who are not totally dedicated to the dictatorship can easily be fired or suspended. The government has announced an entire series of clearly repressive measures.

Other laws are of a more serious scope. These seek to affect the country's social and cultural structure. For instance, one of the laws contemplates the elimination of the Education Ministry's Personnel Board. This way, the government will put the entire education system, and particularly the teachers and professors, under the direct control of the dictatorship [words indistinct]. Social security laws are also being revised. This could lower the social security benefits in order to cope with the Social Security fund's financial crisis, which is the result of corruption in the regime. There is mention of a social service law which, under the current circumstances, could lead to a practical [words indistinct] of the public administration in our country. In addition to repressive laws, there are some that deal with education, public administration, social security, and social and cultural activities. These laws are designed to alter the structure of these sectors throughout the country, to place them under the dictatorship's control and [words indistinct].

Finally, several financial and economic laws, which are of deep concern, have been announced. Mention has been made of urgent financial measures. We do not know if these measures have to do with the banking system, the monetary system, or other aspects of the Panamanian financial system. These laws could even cause an increase in the taxes for the people. In a vague but deeply worrisome manner, it has been announced that the private property law will be changed. This announcement has greatly captured my attention because a private property law does not exist in Panama. There are, however, articles in the Constitution guaranteeing private ownership within the limits established by the Constitution.

When we speak of a revision of the private property law, I must say that the regime might try to restrict the constitutional rights on private property. In addition to all of these laws, mention has been made of a military justice code. This is specially worrisome because it would put all of the Panama Defense Forces directly in the control of the dictatorship. This group of laws, called laws of war by the regime itself, have elicited great fear, concern, and anguish in the country. This contributes in aggravating more and more the socioeconomic crisis that Panama is enduring. This describes the plans the dictatorship has for Panama. These plans are very dark.

[Ruiz] [Words indistinct]

[Arias] I think the current military regime is the result, not so much of a Communist dictatorship, but of a neo-Fascist dictatorship, which seeks to control all society. [Words indistinct] This is a dictatorship that is basically aimed at controlling the entire country, and placing it under the authority of a single man.

Regarding the meeting of the Group of 8—or should I say the 7—leading Latin American countries to start in Lima or near Lima this week, we expect president's Alan Garcia, Carlos Andres Perez, and Sanguinetti, who have severely criticized Noriega's dictatorship, to relay to the Group of 7 a sense of solidarity with the Panamanian people. This is a time when the Latin American democracies must side with the human rights and the Panamanian democracy.

[Ruiz] Why were you detained last week? What were you asked? How did you do in prison? Tell us what happened while you were in prison.

[Arias] When I was detained on 1 October and during my questioning, what concerned the authorities most was the nonviolent campaign that ADOC is conducting.

PDC Leader Ossa Released on $20,000 Bail

PA1010032189 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0305 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 9 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Panamanian opposition sources have reported that Raul Ossa, vice president of the Christian Democratic Party [PRD], detained on Tuesday, was released last night after posting a $20,000 bail.

Ossa was arrested in a town near Panama City and accused of promoting the "not one cent more" campaign against the Panamanian regime, through which the opposition asks the people to refrain from paying their taxes and utilities and not buy lottery tickets.

According to PDC sources, the bail for Ossa's release was posted on Saturday, but it was rejected because of bureaucratic red tape. This is why he was not released until today.

Apostolic Nuncio Notes 'General Sadness' Prevails

PA0710153889 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0425 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Bilbao (Spain), 6 Oct (EFE)—Jose Laboa, apostolic nuncio of Panama, stated that the situation in the country following the foiled coup d'etat is one of "general sadness."

In statements to Radio Euskadi (Spanish basque country), Msgr Laboa stated that the situation in Panama is "apparently calm," adding that "a great depression exists. There is general sadness and one notices that the people are very disappointed."

He continued: "I do not think that anything special will happen. Between 10 to 14 people have been killed," he said, adding that "they were shot, but specific details are not available."

Regarding the possible measures that will be adopted by General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the papal nuncio said that "apparently there will be a general repression. The opposition leaders are in hiding and there is great fear."

He said that many opposition members have sought refuge in the Nunciature, where Guillermo Endara has been since Thursday, after the organization that he heads was attacked by unidentified persons.

Msgr Laboa also referred to the position of the Church regarding the incidents that have taken place in that Central American nation. He said that "thus far, there has not been any official pronouncement. We are currently in a wait-and-see situation."

Regarding the causes of the incidents, the nuncio said that in Panama "the struggle is against Gen Noriega and for democracy. He said that "the main problem is the desire for democracy in Panama."

The nuncio noted that, for the United States, this country "has always been a virtual colony. This dependence makes it difficult for the two parties to engage in serious conversation."

For Msgr Laboa, the situation in the country can be summed up in this manner: While the opposition is waiting for the United States "to do something," the government is waiting for the United States "to renew its friendship."

Radio Exitosa Closed Down by Authorities

PA0610210789 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2022 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 6 Oct (DPA)—Panamanian Government and Justice Minister Olmedo Miranda today announced the cancellation of frequencies used by the "La Exitosa" radio network for having broadcast the statement issued by the officers who on 3 October staged an uprising against General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

"The law is clear, and it calls for sanctions against media sources which, in one way or another, divulge false reports. That is why action has been taken against La Exitosa," Miranda said.

The Exitosa network, the state-owned radio station, and television channel 4 broadcast the statement by the insubordinate soldiers, but at the state-owned radio station and channel 4 this was done, according to their directors, under threat by the coupist officers.

Miranda explained that the curfew established in the country after the failed coup attempt against Gen Noriega may be lifted soon, but he warned that over the weekend the 0000 to 0500 schedule will be maintained.

Raided; Equipment Taken

PA0610212689 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2045 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 6 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—About eight heavily armed plainclothesmen today destroyed the office equipment and furniture of Radio Exitosa, the first radio station to air the bulletin from the rebel military against General Manuel Antonio Noriega on 3 October.

According to witnesses, the men got out of two pickup trucks at 1330 (1830 GMT) and broke the glass panes of the station's front door. They left the place nearly 1 hour later with the electronic equipment.

ACAN-EFE reporters who visited the building observed the destruction. Scattered records and papers lay on the floor, and desk drawers were open, signs that they had been violated.

Witnesses to the raid said the armed men ordered them to keep away and go home.

Radio Exitosa, Panama's second most important privately owned radio station, stayed closed for approximately 2 months nearly 18 months ago. The station owner, Aris de Icaza, has not yet commented on the event.

Noriega warned yesterday: "We cannot play democracy" in Panama. He also said: "We must take" the radio and television stations "that attacked us" (opposed him during the thwarted coup).

Ministry Says Night Classes Resume 'Today'

PA0610232989 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 2312 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] The Education Ministry, through the Adult Literacy Directorate, announces to youths attending night schools in Panama City that classes resume today. These classes had been suspended because of the curfew.

Argentina

President Pardons Military, Civilian Figures

Pardon Decrees Outlined

PY0810214489 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 8 Oct 89 pp 1, 13

[Text] President Carlos Menem yesterday pardoned 280 military officers and civilians convicted for human rights violations, the Malvinas War, and internal Army rebellions, including ex-de facto Presidents Leopoldo Galtieri and Reynaldo Bignone, former Third Army Corps commander General Luciano Benjamin Menendez, retired Generals Albano Harguindeguy and Cristino Nicolaides and rebel leaders Lieutenant-Colonel Aldo Rico and Colonel Mohamed Ali Seineldin.

The measure benefits 39 military chiefs who waged the fight against subversion in the seventies, the three ex-junta commanders who led the 1982 Malvinas war, all members of the armed and security forces who took part in the Holy Week, Monte Caseros and Villa Martelli uprisings—as well as the City airport takeover—and 57 former leftist terrorists, many of whom are still fugitives from justice.

On the other hand, it excludes de facto Presidents Jorge Videla and Roberto Viola, their respective junta members in the Navy, Emilio Massera and Armando Lambruschini, former Buenos Aires Police Chief General Ramon Camps, former I Army Corps Commander Guillermo Suarez Mason and Montoneros terrorist leader Mario Firmenich, all held responsible for the political violence of the past decade.

Many of the above are nevertheless slated to benefit from a second pardon before the end of the year for officers still on trial for human rights abuses and terrorist leaders, as admitted yesterday by Menem.

The president announced the controversial measure around noon while visiting El Chamical air base yesterday in La Rioja, despite having told reporters a few hours earlier in Buenos Aires that no date had yet been arranged.

He was reported to have actually signed pardon decrees 1002, 1003, 1004 and 1005 late on Friday night.

On making the announcement, Menem said the move was a new step in his policy of "reconciliation and national pacification."

Admitting that some people would be "disenchanted" with the measure and many others "clapping," he said those pardoned would immediately recover their freedom and be acquitted in cases lodged at civilian courts. However, they still have to await the different court procedures before leaving their places of confinement.

The pardon decrees came almost a decade after the end of the so-called dirty war against subversion which left a toll of tens of thousands of missing during the 1976-1983 military dictatorship.

Menem said he would be entirely responsible for "any possible costs" of the measure, but conceded his government could "correct its path if proven wrong."

Of those convicted for the Malvinas war, the former military junta of General Galtieri, Brigadier Basilio Lami Dozo and Admiral Jorge Isaac Anaya (tried by the Federal Appeals Court last October for "negligence" in the fight against Britain) benefited from the pardon—Galtieri doubly so as he also faced trial in Rosario and Parana on human rights charges.

As to the military uprisings which thrice jolted the government of former Radical President Raul Alfonsin since Holy Week 1987 and the brief seizure of the Jorge Newbery airport in 1988, 174 rebels were pardoned, including Rico, Seineldin, Lieutenant-Colonel Enrique Venturino and Air Force Commodore Fernando Estrella.

Decree 1002, which pardons most military chiefs linked to the fight against subversion, includes Galtieri, Bignone, Harguindeguy and Nicolaides as well as Generals Juan Bautista Sasiain, Jose Montes, Andres Ferrero, Jorge Olivera Rovere, Santiago Omar Riveros, Ramon Diaz Bessone, Acdel Vilas, Juan Pablo Saa, Jorge Maradona, Mario Lepori, Llamil Reston, Abel Catuzzi and Luciano Jauregui and many rear-admirals and colonels.

Decree 1003 in turn favored persons linked to leftist organizations or alleged militant terrorists including Fernando Vaca Narvaja, Roberto Perdia, former Buenos Aires governor Oscar Bidegain and Pedro Orgambide. Also pardoned were four Uruguayan paramilitary leaders who acted jointly with Argentine security forces in the clandestine detention centre known as Automotores Orletti, but were accused of the abduction of a Uruguayan journalist and the assassination of two Uruguayan legislators in Buenos Aires in 1976.

Videla, Viola, Massera and Lambruschini, all of whom received stiff sentences for human rights violations, as well as Firmenich, serving a 30-year term for the kidnapping of Juan and Jorge Born in 1975, will remain in prison for now although Menem hinted they were lined up for a "second stage" pardon around Christmas.

Suarez Mason, who fled the country following the return to democracy and was extradited from the United States, and Camps, who received 25 years for human rights violations, will also continue serving out their terms.

Decree 1002—signed by Menem and Ministers Eduardo Bauza (Interior), Italo Luder (Defence) and Antonio Salonia (Education and Justice)—states that the pardon for the 39 officers convicted for serious human rights abuses is "only a political mechanism provided by the Constitution to create the conditions for national pacification," but makes clear that the measure in and of

itself "does not imply in any way that these aims may have been reached, nor is there a guarantee that they will be reached."

The pardon is just "another of the many measures that the national government, sacrificing obvious convictions—which are legitimate and historical—is willing to promote to achieve the pacification of the Republic," reads the decree.

Another part of the decrees states that "spiritual peace giving us brotherhood" could never be achieved "if we cling to the tragic events of the past, the mere recollection of which drains us and leads to confrontation."

Finally, the decree stressed that the government's "utmost responsibility" was to look after the "supreme interest of the nation, before any other interests," and therefore it must "face the historical commitment that this decision of high politics implies."

A noteworthy aspect of the pardon is that one of the beneficiaries, Harguindeguy, was sued by Menem for the harsh prison conditions at Las Lomitas in Formosa during the military regime. Menem was first held at Magdalena top security prison with other Peronist leaders and later taken to tropical Las Lomitas in scorching summer heat, considering his confinement at punishment beyond any legal grounds and a violation of human rights.

Civilians Pardoned

PY0710225889 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2155 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 7 Oct (NA)—Through Decree 1003 the executive branch has decided to pardon those involved in guerrilla activities or related actions during the last military regime. The list includes four Uruguayans who were accused of carrying out illegal repression in the clandestine "Automotores Orletti" detention center.

The Uruguayans who were pardoned are Jose Nino Gavazzo, Jorge Silveira, Manuel Cordero, and Hugo Campos Hermida. They were held responsible for participating in the kidnapping and subsequent murder of former Uruguayan Senators Zelmar Michellini and Hugo Gutierrez Ruiz, and in the kidnapping of reporter Enrique Rodriguez Larreta.

On several occasions Argentine justice demanded the extradition of the Uruguayans so that they could be tried on charges filed in Argentine courts by Rodriguez Larreta, but the demand ran into diplomatic problems and they were never extradited.

The people linked to guerrilla activities who were pardoned include former Montoneros chiefs Fernando Vaca Narvaja and Roberto Perdia; former Buenos Aires Province Governor Oscar Bidegain; and Fermin Nunez, one of the so-called political prisoners whose case was submitted to the Inter-American Human Rights Court.

The list also includes well-known political and cultural personalities.

The reasons for the pardon of Decree 1003 are identical to those given for pardoning the Armed Forces members who were tried for serious violations of human rights.

Here is the list of those pardoned by Decree 1003: Fernando Vaca Narvaja, Roberto Perdia, Oscar Bidegain, Gerardo Vavio, Silvia Berman, Eduardo Berrozpe, Miguel Bonasso, Norman Brisky, Gonzalo Chavez, Rene Chavez, Juan Gelman, Lidia Massaferro, Pedro Orgambide, Nilda Rappari de Lencinas, Susana Sanz de Llorente, Olimpia Diaz, Pablo Fernandez Long, Rodolfo Galimberti, Manuel Pedreira, Pablo Ramos, Julio Rodriguez Anido, Jaime Dri, Daniel Vaca Narvaja, Osvaldo Raul Lovey, Jorge Omar Lewinger, Raul Jose Melchor Melgario, Graciela Beatriz Daleo, Marcelino Eduardo Olasiregui, Jose Daniel Quinteros, Amalia Maria Larralde, Lisandro Cubas, Jorge Mendez, Ana Dora Weissen, Graciela Estela Alberti de Murphy, Jesus Maria Lujan, Ricardo Soria, Roberto Jose Ahumada, Alicia Portomere, Eduardo Espinoza, Norberto Gomez, Maria Alicia Mordillo, Carlos Creus, German Schmelin, Jose Luis Islas, Guillermo Adrian Khun, Adriana Ruth Marcu, Gustavo Alberto Grigena, Maria Antonia Berger, Lilia Victoria Pastoriza, Luz Maria Larralde, Juan Domingo Lopez, Luis Oscar Mao, Sergio Maria Ibanez, Francisco Antonio Carrizo, Jose Martin Paz, Ruben Jesus Emperador, Fermin Angel Nunez.

The list also include Jose Nino Cabazzo, Jorge Silveira, Manuel Cordero, and Hugo Campos Hermida, all of whom participated in repression with the Argentine security forces.

Decree No 1004

PY1010014489 Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 8 Oct 89 pp 10, 26, 27

["Text" of Decree No 1004; all precedent citations as published]

[Excerpt] In view of reports received on the status of the various lawsuits involving military and security personnel, and

Whereas:

The well-known events involving Armed Forces and security personnel that took place between mid-April 1987 and December 1988 epitomized the tension prevailing in various strata of society resulting from the conflicts which marked the relations between Argentines during the last few decades;

In connection with the nature of the events of Holy Week in 1987 and the personality and objectives of the people involved in these events, the president of the nation at that time, had stated: "It is a group of men, some of them heroes of the Malvinas war, who adopted a mistaken

attitude and repeatedly stated that it was not their purpose to stage a coup d'etat" (presidential speech on 19 April 1987);

The basic objective of the national government is to take every step necessary to protect the unity, peace, and well-being of all the inhabitants of the country;

The attainment of the proposed objectives poses the inalienable requirement of bringing about peace of mind by doing away with the rancor that may serve to make permanent the conflicts which have threatened to divide the people;

The continuation of the lawsuits involving the previously mentioned personnel is a very important obstacle in the quest for the stated lofty objectives and must be cleared through the legal means in effect;

The continuation of the lawsuits to their appropriate conclusion would require an amount of time which is incompatible with the degree of certainty that the personnel involved should have as far as their future professional prospects are concerned, which makes it necessary to put an end to said lawsuits immediately (National Constitution, Article 86, paragraphs 15 and 17);

Regarding the legal framework under which this decree is promulgated and in view of the general terms used in Article 86, Clause 6, of the Constitution, the rule for interpretation should be that when a power is conferred expressly in general terms it cannot be restricted unless the restriction is expressed in the article or implies the need for it (C.S.J.N. [National Supreme Court] Rulings 136:258);

It is also a guiding principle on this issue that the Constitution should be interpreted in such a way that the limitations should not obstruct the effective and just operation of government powers in order to allow the fulfillment of its goals in the best possible manner for the community (C.S.N.J. Rulings 214:425);

In this regard the Supreme Court has established a doctrine in the case "Ibanez J." (Rulings 136:258) by which in order to have the right to pardon the Constitution requires the existence of an open case against the individual to be pardoned whether he is facing trial or he has already been sentenced;

Therefore, the pardon can be granted to people who have already been sentenced or are under trial;

Although the pardon means that the sentence will not be served or that the court proceeding will stop, it does not mean that the executive branch is carrying out a judicial function, or reviewing legal acts, or arrogating for itself pending cases thus violating the principle of Article 95 of the National Constitution. The pardon does not decide a controversy or declare who wins a legal battle; it is only a right of the executive branch based on a higher juridical order aimed at contributing to real national reconciliation and pacification;

The decision is made without restricting in any way whatsoever the evaluation that may be made of the extent of the breach of discipline in which the persons mentioned in this decree may have incurred. For this the appropriate authority of each service branch will take the suitable disciplinary actions in keeping with the objectives and purpose of this decree;

This measure is taken in accordance with Article 86, Clause 6, of the Constitution.

Therefore, the president of the Argentine Nation decrees:

Article 1. The personnel listed in Annex 1 with the case reference which is part of this decree are hereby pardoned, without restricting in any way whatsoever the decisions that the appropriate military authorities may adopt in each case as far as disciplinary actions are concerned.

Article 2. It is so ordered. [passage omitted on "annex" to Decree No. 1004 listing names of those pardoned]

Military Rebels Pardoned

PY0710195889 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1930 GMT 7 Oct 89

[All names as received]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 7 Oct (NA)—The executive branch today pardoned 174 officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers involved in the revolts of Easter weekend, Monte Caseros, Villa Martelli, and Jorge Newbery Airport. Among the pardoned officers are Colonel Mohamed Ali Seineldin; Lieutenant Colonels Aldo Rico, Enrique Venturino, and Hector Alvarez de Igarzabal; and Colonel Fernando Estrella.

Decree 1004, signed by President Carlos Menem and Ministers Eduardo Bauza (interior), Italo Luder (defense), and Antonio Salonia (education and justice) states that the pardon of the insubordinate military officers "contributes to appeasing the spirits by overcoming the disagreements that may perpetuate the confrontations that have threatened to divide the people."

The preservation of "unity, peace and wellbeing" are the goals established by the government in the decree which says that the extention of the trials was "a very significant obstacle" that had "to be overcome within the framework of current regulations."

The executive branch labels the military uprisings as "one more event in the disagreements which have affected the coexistence of the Argentine people in the last decades."

The decree also recalls that former Presient Raul Alfonsin labeled the men involved in the Easter uprising "a group of men, some of them heroes of the Malvinas war, who made a mistake" and that "their intention was not to provoke a coup."

The names of those pardoned are:

Pretrial Inquest Letter [letra] 21 7, No. 1041/3 (Lieutenant Colonel Rico and others)

Lieutenant Colonels Aldo Rico, Enrique Carlos Venturino.

Majors Jorge Eduardo Tandula, Jorge Alberto D'Amico, Ricardo Cesar Jose Gieco Vicux, Alfredo Raul Lopez, Clemente Eduardo Pecora, Horacio Posito, Enrique Pedro Mones Ruiz, Hector Edgardm Bonini.

Captains Jose Luis Blanquet, Alejandro Cesar Mtughty, Jorge Armando Pascal, Horacio Ramon Munoz Cabrera, Miguel Angel Macchi, Andres Maximo Maisano, Mario Marcelo Ornstein, Francisco Pablo D'Aloia.

First Lieutenants Carlos Alfredo Saravi, Martin Enrique Ignacio Del Sastre, Mario Enrique Gabardi, Julio Guillermo Ganchotena, Dario Alejandro Selser.

Lieutenants Ricardo Rafael Salina, Jose Maria Sanora, Pablo Osmar De Blas, Enrique Anibal Riveros., Esteban Alberto Molina Juarez, Arsenal Lieutenant Mariano Emilio Scagni.

Lieutenants Jorge Ivan Mostajo, Sergi Ruben Garcia, Marcelo Ricardt Navarro, Alejandro Rozadms.

Sub-Lieutenants Ulises Caiossieblo, Benjamin Alfonso Remis, Alejandro Jesus Augusto Sanchez, Marcelo Javier Alem Troncoso, Alejandro Dario Manzanares, Carlos Andres Freites, Gustavo Telmo Godoxukh.

Quartermaster Sub-Lieutenants Alfredo Alejandro Anfuso.

Sub-Lieutenants Alejandro Eduardo Firanze, Luis Osvaldo Sevhdoian Arce, Leandro Javier Luna.

Arsenal Sub-Lieutenant Raul Edgardo Sanchez.

Sub-Lieutenants Walter Gabriel Orue, Gustavo Abel Marnos, Juan Antonio Zumarraga.

[Name and rank indistinct]

Assistant Sargeant Mario Omar Fernandez.

Pretiral Inquest Letter 51 8, No. 0852/1 (lieutenant Colonel Leon and others)

Lieutenant Colonel Angel Daniel Leon

Majors Carlos Walter Jaime, Armando Arana, Tomas Victor Fernandez.

Captain Juan Carlos Yorio.

Lieutenant Jose Luis D'Angelo Rodriguez.

Pretrial Inquest Letter 61 8, No. 0602/4 (Lieutenant Colonel Valiente and others)

Lt Col Armando Nobel Valiente.

Captain Carlos Hector Ezcurra Varela.

First Lieutenants Guillermo Rodolfo Molina, Jose Maria Vega.

Lieutenants Darwin Jorge Teran, Joaquin Edgardo Bridoux.

Sub-Lieutenants Julio Nelson Flores, Pascual Ferraro, Oscar Dario Minigutti.

Sargeant Alfonso Jose Rendueles.

Corporal First Class Pedro Alejandro Vizcarra.

Corporal Duilio Alberto Cerquetti.

Pretrial Inquest Letter 4J 8, No. 4015/102 (First Lieutenant Foncueva and others)

First Lieutenants Raul Romulo Foncueva, Miguel Angel Molinas, Hugo Sergio Contreras, Luis Alfredo Escudero.

First Arsenal Lieutenant Jose Feliberto Prieto.

Lieutenants Walter Ariel Ledesma, Miguel Eduardo Amarfil, Carlos Daniel Bettoni.

Physical Education Lieutenant Miguel Angel Avalos.

Sub-Lieutenants Fernando Javier Romano, Pablo Guillermo Besora.

Pretrial Inquest Letter Y 8, 49, No. 0362/1 (First Lieutenant Barea Castellanos)

First Lieutenants Ariel Antonio Barea Castellanos, Miguel [name indistinct] Alvarez, Alejandro Cesar Corletti.

Lieutenants Gustavo Gabriel Cadenas, Franco Farina, Carlos Eduardo Desimone, Carlos Alberto Corpadi.

Sub-Lieutenants Jorge Oscar Fernandez, Eduardo Pablo Garbini.

Pretrial Inquest Letter OB 9, No. 0983/19

Lieutenant Colonels Aldo Rico, Hector Claudio Alvarez De Igarzbal.

Captain Amaro Eduardo Cundom (Retired).

Pretrial Inquest Letter ON 8, No. 0983/161 (Captain Breide Obeid)

Cap Gustavo Luis Breide Obeid.

Pretrial Inquest Letter AJ 8, No. 0983/68—"Disobedience" (Violation of arrest)

Lieutenant Colonel Arturo Felix Gonzalez Naya.

Pretrial Inquest Letter SP 8, No. 0630/06—"Desertion of Post"—"Subversive Activities"

Captain Ernesto Hanse Larramendi.

Pretrial Inquest Letter XC 8, No. 1803/032—"Desertion of Post"—"Subversive Activities"

Captain Emilio Pedro Morello.

Pretrial Inquest Letter SL 8, No. 0039/28—"Rebellion"

Colonel Mohamed Ali Seineldin.

Major Hugo Reynaldo Abete.

Pretrial Inquest Letter SP 8, No. 0603/04

Captain Martin Eduardo Sanchez Zinny.

Case No. 20,874 "Estrella Luis Fernando/Rebellion"

Commodore Luis Fernando Estrella (retired).

Vice Commodores Angel Camilo Lavella, Juan Carlos Puy, Ernesto Trafael Lynch, Horacio Ricciardelli.

Major Hivinio Rafael Robles.

Captain Antonio Eduardo.

NCO Second Class Godofredo Buschiazzo.

Case No. 20,518 "Calzada, Oscar Hugo and others. S/INF. [expansion unknown]. Articles 142, 149, 189, 194, and 227 of the Penal Code."

Hugo Oscar Calzada, Enrique Jose Calzada, Guillermo Miguel Ramon Ferrari, Rafael Cobo, Alberto Victor Telias.

Case No. 41,884-B, Document No. 35,613-B. B.C. [expansion unknown—FBIS] Rabanal J., (Daniel) H. and others on violation of National Security Law 20840.

Brigadier (Article 62) Julio Cesar Antuccione.

Case No. 3,127/88 "De Sagastizabal, Raul, and others on violation of Article 226 of Penal Code" under process in the San Isidro Federal Court.

First Sargeant Raul Horacio Ramon de Sagastizabal (retired), OP [expansion unknown] Gabriel Rodolfo Schauvinhold, OX [expansion unknown] Pedro Francisco Palacios, OA [expansion unknown] Fabian Enrique Camino, OA Jorge Albeto Barrios, AT [expansion unknown] Mario Alfredo Lopez, AT Miguel Antonio Gomez, AT Juan Carlos Schneider, AT Luis Daniel de Sagastizabal, AT Braulio Francisco Garcia, AT Oscar Antonio Mendez (retired), CI [expansion unknown] Jose Alberto Mansilla, CI Agustin Aquino, CI Jacinto Arnoa, CI Ricardo Cardozo, CI Agustin Ramon Sister, CI Juan Alberto Fernandez, CI Ruben Angel Garcia, CI Enrique Miguel Franco, CI David Eduardo Criado, CI Jorge Alberto Gomez, CI Ruben Horacio Yudiche, CI Sergio Alberto Perez, CI Carlos Eusebio Vera, CI Mario Oscar Leiva, CI Miguel Antonio Posdeley, Ci Eduardo Jose Latronico, CI Flavio Bruno Fernandez, CI Jorge Marcelo De Los Santos, CI Maximo Eufamio Palacios, CI Jorge Antonio Retamar, CI Orfilio Alcides Dayer, CI Walter Orlando De Ls Santos, CS [expansion unknown] Miguel Angel Suarez, CS Ramon Arturo Danchuo, CS Agustin Benitez, CS Sergio Oscar Croce, CS Ricardo Arnoldo Wanbele, CS Eduardo Alfredo Albornoz, CS Marcelo Anselmo Rodriguez, CS Miguel Angel Zarza, CS Jorge Alberto Ponce, CS Alfredo Gomez, CS Julio Cesar Garzon, CS Hugo Patricio GAllegos, CS Osvaldo Ladislao Ojeda, CS Juan Antonio Amarillo, CS Roberto Javier Gomez, CS Marcelo Alberto Benitez, CS Sergio Enrique Romero, CS Francisco Cesar Almeida, CS Miguel Angel Benitez, CS Rodolfo Gabriel Clemente, CS Carlos Alberto Dedeus, CS Luciano Argentino Vargas, CS Hector Manuel Uliambre, CS Marcelo Alenjandro Acuna, CS Juan Horacio Lopez, MO [expansion unknown] Domingo Santiago Otero [name indistinct], MO Walter Ramon Audi, MO Marcelo Adrian Ojeda, MO Carlos Eduardo Franco.

Pretrial Inquest No. 5237,831 (F.A.A. "S" [expansion unknown] "Alleged violation of military regulations in Articles 634, 635, 772, 776 and 777 of the Military Justice Code."

Commodore Luis Fernando Estrella.

Falklands Conflict Pardons

PY0810201689 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1150 GMT 8 Oct 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 8 Oct (NA)—The National Executive Branch has issued Decree 1005 pardoning the three top military officers who had been sentenced to prison over their responsibility for Argentina's defeat in the South Atlantic War.

The preamble of the decree does not mention the military conflict itself but rather the powers of the government to grant a pardon in keeping with the national constitution.

In this particular case the beneficiaries of the decree were former Argentine President Lieutenant General Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri, retired; Admiral Jorge Isaac Anaya, retired; and Brigadier General Basilio Arturo Lami Dozo, retired, all of whom had been sentenced to 12 years in prison by the Buenos Aires Federal Court.

Decree No 1005

PY1010001889 Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 8 Oct 89 p 11

["Text" of Decree No 1005]

[Text] Taking into consideration the report of the appropriate court submitted by the minister of education and justice and whereas the constitutional government wants to take over its full responsibility to lead the republic toward the goals established in the preamble of the National Constitution:

In order to achieve that goal it is necessary to implement those measures which, by easing the strictness of the law, can generate the appropriate conditions to allow the greatest cooperation by the people for the reconstruction and progress of the nation.

The national executive branch has the full responsibility to put the supreme interest of the nation before any other interest and by doing so it must face the historic commitment involving this high political decision.

Regarding the legal framework under which this decree is promulgated and in view of the general terms in Article 86, Clause 6, of the Constitution, the rule for interpretation should be that when a power is conferred expressly in general terms it cannot be restricted unless the restriction is expressed in the article or it implies the need for it. (C.S.J.N. [National Supreme Court], Ruling 136: 839)

It is also a guiding principle on this issue that the Constitution should be interpreted in such a way that the limitations should not obstruct the effective and just operation of government powers in order to allow the fulfillment of its goals in the best possible manner for the community. (C.S.J.N. Ruling 314:425)

In this regard the Supreme Court has established a doctrine in the case "Ibanez J." (Ruling 136:238) by which in order to have the right to pardon the Constitution requires the existance of an open case against the individual to be pardoned whether he is facing trial or he has already been sentenced.

Therefore, the pardon can be granted to people who have already been sentenced or are facing trial.

Although the pardon means that the sentence will not be served or that the court proceeding will stop, it does not mean that the executive branch is carrying out a judicial function, or reviewing legal acts, or arrogating for itself pending cases thus violating the principle of Article 95 of the National Constitution. The pardon does not decide a controversy or declare who wins a legal battle; it is only a right of the executive branch based on a higher juridical order aimed at contributing to real national reconciliation and pacification.

This measure is granted in accordance with Article 86, Clause 6, of the National Constitution.

Therefore, the president of the Argentine nation decrees:

Article 1. The individuals listed in Annex I with the case reference which is part of this decree are hereby pardoned.

Article 2. It is hereby ordered."

Annex I

Case: trial ordered by Decree 2971 of 1 November 1983 for alleged violation of the Military Code of Justice in accordance with the report made by the Analysis and Evaluation Commission for the Political Responsibility and Military Strategy of the South Atlantic Military Conflict. Lieutenant General Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri, retired. Identification no. 4.771.350; Admiral Jorge Isaac Anaya, retired. Identification no. 5.425.047; Brigadier General Basilio Arturo Ignacio Lami Dozo, retired. Identification no. 6.463.857.

Menem Accepts Costs

PY0710215489 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2030 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] La Rioja, 7 Oct (TELAM)—Today President Carlos Menem said that he is willing to accept "all the political costs that may emerge" from the presidential pardon to military men and civilians who violated human rights. The pardon was ordered with the signing of several decrees today.

Menem talked with reporters about the pardon. He said: "I cannot estimate what the political costs will be. I do not know whether they will be high or not but I will assume my responsibility for the costs. What interests me is my country, my people."

Menem added: "Acquittal means pardon, and from now on all those who recently violated human rights have been pardoned."

Menem said that it is "basically" important for all of us "to be able to build an Argentina where it will be worth living." Regarding those pardoned, Menem said that he wished them well and that "they should work in peace here in Argentina or anywhere else."

He indicated that he is willing "without any problems to meet with them" because "if the president pardoned them in the name of what he represents and if in some way he represents the law and a large sector of the community, then I am willing to talk with anyone who wishes to do so." [sentence as received]

He denied having been pressured to implement the pardon quickly "either by the Armed Forces or civilians." He pointed out that "there is a man who did not get the benefit of the presidential pardon; he is Admiral Armando Lambruschini whose 15-year-old daughter was murdered by a bomb. These are the things that must be taken into consideration when measures of this type are implemented."

Menem concluded by saying that "this measure which I take under my responsibility has the support of the Justicialist Party and other parties in addition to a very important sector of the Catholic Church and other religious organizations."

Menem Meets Seineldin

PY0910135389 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1217 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 9 Oct (TELAM)—President Carlos Menem confirmed today that Colonel Mohamed Ali Seineldin paid him a visit last night at the Olivos presidential residence to express his gratitude and to tell him that "this decision serves to unite the Army and the Armed Forces."

Menem confirmed this report from government house and added that the pardon "is a legal measure and constitutionally irreproachable."

Menem on Future Pardons

PY0910140589 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1220 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 9 Oct (TELAM)—President Carlos Menem stated today that he has not ruled out a second stage of pardons involving other detainees. He added, however, that "this will be decided in due time" by the president of the nation.

Menem made this statement at the reporters' hall of Government House in response to a question on whether there will be more pardons in the future. He said that carrying out a plebiscite on this matter "is debatable." He also noted that the decision already made on the pardons "is a fait accompli."

Political Reaction

PY0810220089 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 8 Oct 89 p 13

[All quotation marks as published]

[Text] Political leaders, legislators and human rights organizations emphatically criticized the pardons granted yesterday by President Carlos Menem in favour of military officers, civilians and subversive elements serving sentences or under trial for violations of the law over the past decade.

The Permanent Assembly of Human Rights repudiated the presidential pardon granted to those "who used terror, homicide, kidnapping, torture and rose in arms against constitutional order."

It added that "the most recent acts of violence in Argentina raise an anguished question on the future prospects of stability and a civilized co-existence."

Christian Democrat Lower House member Alberto Aramouni said the pardons violated "equality before the law and the international rules of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the San Jose pact."

He added that those pardoned have been exempted from serving their sentences but have not been exempted from blame.

Lower House socialist member Simon Lazara said the measure was "politically inoportune and seriously immoral," adding that it would be questioned in the Lower House for it to be declared unconstitutional.

"Impunity is given to murderers and seditious elements and this affects the democratic system," he added.

Former Buenos Aires Mayor Facundo Suarez Lastra said Menem had "betrayed the people and his own mandate because he confused the constitutional possibility with the legitimacy granted him by the people."

Suarez Lastra said the pardon was a "grevious error of the president, about all as regards the rebels in the events of Holy Week, Monte Caseros and Villa Martelli."

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo described the pardons as a "veritable moral aberration and a mockery of justice." They said in a communique the pardons were a crowning of infamy which started with the full stop law and the due obedience."

The Argentine Human Rights League repudiated the presidential pardons and considered the decrees "absolutely null and void."

Communist leader Fernando Nadra said the government's decision was an error because "it pardons those guilty of genocide who only deserve trial and punishment."

Radical Lower House member Lucia Alberti said Menem was risking impeachment because of the pardons which she said were a "virtual amnesty which worries society."

Her fellow Radical member Guillermo Tello Rosas said it was a "blow to justice and credibility of the people, and God grant that it does not bring unfortunate consequences."

In favour of the pardons were Radical Senator Juan Trilla, Rogelio Frigerio, the leader of the Movement of Integration and Development (MID) and Peronist Lower House member Miguel Nacul.

Trilla said the pardons "solve the tensions affecting the military, and is an extension of the due obedience law, and the president as commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces solves the conflicts caused by the rebellions."

Frigerio said Menem had had a "gesture of generosity" by pardoning former Interior Minister Albano Harguindeguy who kept him confined for several years."

He added that the pardons were "necessary to consolidate national unity."

Nacul agreed with Menem's decision saying "there was messianism on both sides, and it is logical that in pacification we all join together."

Pardon Debated

PY0910151689 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1311 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Cordoba, 9 Oct (TELAM)—Secretary General of the Presidency Alberto Kohan and Radical Civic Union [UCR] Deputy Jesus Rodriguez this morning engaged in a polemical debate on Cordoba University Radio over the issue of the presidential pardon.

The dialogue began with former Minister Rodriguez expressing his "doubts" that the presidential measure "will contribute to national pacification."

Rodriguez said: "I think the decision has serious flaws because it pretends that there were no military uprisings in Argentina and that everything is as it was before. This issue seriously affects the most essential institutional Army rules of discipline and subordination."

Kohan replied by first clarifying that he was not speaking for the Justicialist Party but as a member of the executive branch. "I think the government is exercising a prerogative that has not been used before but which has been deemed appropriate and prudent for now," Kohan said.

"We think the president, who is also the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, has the prerogative of adopting this measure. The previous administration did not consider it prudent, but our administration believes it will contribute to the beginning of a new stage in which we will all be united," Kohan said.

Kohan later said: "We do not have to fear a resurgence of violence because it will be controlled with all our resources. We definitely do not believe that there will be a repetition of the incidents that hurt Argentina so badly. We only want to begin a new stage."

Asked about prospects for future political coexistence in the country, considering the two clearly different positions, Rodriguez said that "this is not a problem of political parties nor an attempt to capitalize on it for electoral purposes."

"Our position stems from a very profound concern. I am referring specifically to the case of the so-called 'painted-faces' group, but I also think that we are not recognizing the culpability of some sectors that were definitely involved in violence during the previous decade," Rodriguez added.

Rodriguez then raised certain questions, such as the fact that "Colonel Seineldin was received by the president of the nation at the Olivos residence." He asked the reporter and Kohan to confirm whether this report was true.

Kohan answered that "Seineldin is among those affected by the presidential pardon, and the president is allowed to hold this type of meeting."

Kohan stated: "I think all Argentines feel that the need to reconcile and to work together is very important. I do not see any reason to question a meeting between the president and someone who has benefited from the presidential decree."

Kohan was then asked about a second stage of pardons affecting those serving their sentences. He answered that "the president probably feels a need to analyze this measure differently. This decision, which will include the rest of those serving their sentences, will be made by the president, who is considering the appropriate time to decide on this matter."

UCR Criticizes Pardon

PY0910152789 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 1430 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 9 Oct (DYN)—Conrado Storani, president of the Radical Civic Union [UCR] national convention, today said that "when justice is violated, ignored, or bypassed we start on the path of dissolving the democratic system."

Asked by a radio station to comment on the presidential pardon, Storani thought for a moment and then said that "one of the most serious aspects" of the problem is "the fact that those guilty of sedition in three military uprisings will be freed."

Storani wondered "what kind of Army can be rebuilt and what reconciliation can we talk about when we bow to and perhaps even return commands to officers who violated military laws of order and subordination and even respect for the institution."

Storani said: "Those guilty of sedition have been rewarded with a pardon." He added that the incident makes him "very sad."

Menem Appoints CNI Chief, Justice Secretary

PY0710115389 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 0201 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 6 oct (TELAM)—President Carlos Menem tonight announced that Cesar Arias has been appointed the new justice secretary to replace Julio Oyhanarte.

In brief statements to the media as he left government house tonight, Menem said that Arias, who used to be the National Treasury attorney general, will be replaced by Carlos Garcia, an Interior Ministry official.

President Menem also said that Hugo Anzoguerri has been appointed secretary of the National Intelligence Center, replacing Carlos Canon.

'Confusion' Over CNI Chief

PY0610223689 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 6 Oct 89 p 13

[Text] (NA-DYN)—Contradictory statements from President Carlos Menem, Interior Minister Eduardo Bauza, State Intelligence Agency (SIDE) head Juan Bautista Yofre and National Intelligence Centre (CNI) director Carlos Canon led to complete confusion by press time last night as to whether the latter still held his post, had resigned or was forced to leave.

In statements issued at the Jorge Newbery airport before leaving for Neuquen yesterday morning, Menem ruled out a previous announcement by Yofre on Canon having resigned on Wednesday night. "There is no resignation yet and we have nothing to say on the issue," Menem told the press.

Barely three hours after that Bauza disclosed at government house that he had signed the decree appointing Luis Rivet, former Catamarca Economy Minister, as CNI head and pointed out that Canon was "laid off."

The confusing situation started late on Wednesday night, when Yofre told the press that due to insuperable problems of misunderstanding between him and Canon, the latter was removed from his post "in a sorry episode because this gentleman did not want to resign even when President Menem and myself asked him twice to do so."

In his airport statements, Menem denied having asked for Canon's resignation.

Meanwhile, government sources disclosed that Canon had asked last night to be received by the head of state, apparently to present his resignation directly to the president. Yofre stressed that Canon maintained that the three Armed Forces chiefs-of-staff supported his claim to stay in the post as an argument against the SIDE official's demand for his resignation.

Yofre concluded: "I consulted the top military men afterwards and they said they would not meddle in something which did not belong to their spheres of action."

Court Sentences La Tablada Base Attackers

PY0610170689 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 0200 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Based on the law on Defense of Democracy, the San Martin Federal Court this afternoon handed down sentences against the 20 members of the All for the Fatherland Movement who on 23 January 1989 tried to take over La Tablada Army Regiment in a bloody attack.

Let us listen to part of the verdict read by Court President Judge Hugo Fosatti:

[Begin Fosatti recording] The court has made the following unanimous decisions:

First:

To sentence Roberto Felicetti, whose identification is included in the case records, to life in prison under the most severe conditions [reclusion perpetua], plus an additional unspecified term of imprisonment under the most severe conditions, and to hold him responsible for court costs.

To sentence Claudia Beatriz Acosta, whose identification is included in the case records, to life in prison under the most severe conditions and to hold her responsible for court costs.

To sentence the following persons, whose identification is included in the case records, to life in prison under less severe conditions [prision perpetua] and to hold them responsible for court costs: Miguel Angel Aguirre, Luis Alfredo Diaz, Isabel Margarita Fernandez, (Gustavo Alberto Mesutti), Jose Moreira, (Carlos Ernesto Motto), Segio Manuel Paz, Luis Dario Ramos, Sebastin Joaquin Ramos, Claudio Nestor Rodriguez and Claudio Omar Veiga. [end recording]

The court also sentenced Brother Antonio Puigjane to 20 years in prison. The following sentences were handed down to the agitators who were arrested in the vicinity of the military unit: 15 years to Dora Molina, 13 years to (Gabriel Almiron) and (Miguel Saldutti), 11 years to Juan Manuel Burgos and Cynthia Castro, and 10 years to Juan Carlos Abella.

The federal court has also ordered the appeals by Doctors (Raul Schnaber) and Antonio Rojas Salinas sent to a lower court for investigation into the possible crime of disobedience, in the wake of the aggressive remarks that the members of the defense council made against Raul Plee, who represents the attorney general's office, and against the court.

At 1500 on 10 October the San Martin court will release a report giving the reasons for the above sentences.

[Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish at 1106 GMT on 6 Oct, in a similar report, adds: "Roberto Felicetti, member of the national secretariat of the All for the Fatherland movement and the main person responsible for the takeover of La Tablada, was sentenced to life in prison under the most severe conditions (25 years) plus an additional unspecified term of imprisonment under the most severe conditions (10 years), which add up to approximately 35 years in prison."]

Cavallo Comments on Relations With UK

PY0810233489 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 7 Oct 89 p 11

[Text] Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo yesterday said the government would not be willing to re-establish diplomatic relations with Britain if this meant "giving up our positions" although he hoped for a restoration of ties before the end of the year.

But regardless of the turn of events, Argentine-British dialogue will not be interrupted, said Cavallo.

The official told Radio Continental that "Argentines hope to normalize diplomatic relations as soon as possible," more precisely "by the end of the year or March at the latest" as proposed by President Carlos Menem.

In other comments, he conceded that it might be difficult to cover all topics on the agenda for the October 17-18 Madrid bilateral talks, drawn up last month by the former Argentine ambassador to the United States, Lucio Garcia del Solar, and British ambassador to the United Nations, Crispin Tickell.

Ruling out the possibility of agreements making both nations "partners" in the development of the Malvinas archipelago, Cavallo said new methods of "cooperation" should be sought, especially on the fisheries question and the exploitation of the sea bed in the disputed area.

"It's far too early to speak of partnership," said Cavallo, because "this will be assessed in the future in light of the

circumstances, the attitude of Britain and the development of our socio-economic situation."

He stressed that it was of vital importance to find ways of "avoiding incidents" in the South Atlantic so as to "recreate trust and make real the desire for a peaceful, nuclear-free South Atlantic."

The minister explained that "degrees of co-operations" between both countries hinged on "degrees of trust," adding: "We're moving towards a process in which we hope for a recovery of mutual trust, capacity for dialogue and even human contact between residents of the Malvinas islands and the Argentines on continental territory."

We are absolutely sure, and think the British are too, that neither side will allow a situation leading to the break-off of dialogue or negotiations," he said.

"It is very important to be able to speak face to face, even when we have very different positions, because through dialogue we may get to know our respective positions and find points of agreement."

This style of negotiation—spearheaded by President Carlos Menem—where discussion of sovereignty rights is placed under an "umbrella," will "prevent a rerun of what happened in Berne in 1984 when a diplomatic rapprochement was frustrated."

Finally, regarding preliminary aspects to the Madrid talks, Cavallo said the sides were "preparing for a well-structured negotiation which will run smoothly."

Chile

Pinochet Reshuffles Army High Command

PY1010032689 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2300 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Major General Jorge Lucar Figueroa is the new deputy commander in chief of the Chilean Army. The president of the nation made this decision today. The information was released today at the end of the meeting of the Army Promotions Board at La Moneda Palace. Thus, the Army high command is made up of the following officers:

Major General Jorge Lucar Figueroa as deputy commander in chief of the Army;
Major General Hugo Salas Wenzel as the Army chief of staff;
Brigadier General Luis Patricio Serre as the Army inspector general;
Brigadier General (Hector Barrigrandi) as the new Army director of personnel;
Brigadier General Rodrigo Sanchez Casillas as director of operations;
Brigadier General Gustavo Abarzua as director of intelligence;
Brigadier General (Luis Henriquez) as director of logistics;
Brigadier General Guido Riquelme as director of training;

Brigadier General Alejandro Gonzalez Samohod as commander of the Army metropolitan garrison.

After this information was released, the new deputy commander in chief of the Army made the following statement:

[Begin Lucar recording] I would like to say that right now I feel tremendous satisfaction. As a professional soldier for more than 35 years I am very proud that his excellency the president has appointed me Army deputy commander in chief. I can say no more.

We are meeting right now to establish the takeover date from my predecessor so I can tell you absolutely nothing at this point. All I can do is reiterate that I am deeply moved by my appointment to this high post which is, I believe, the highest achievement for an Army officer. This is all I can say. [end recording]

The following officers have been promoted to the rank of Brigadier General: (Patricio Varela), (Javier Salazar), Carlos Krumm, (Jose Carrera), (Jorge Lagos), (German Kullman), and (Fernando Torres).

At the same time, the following generals have been retired: Jorge Zincke, Jaime Gonzalez, Mario Navarrete, Eduardo Castellon, Julio Andrade, Helmut Kraushaar, Mario Renato Varela, Oscar Vargas, Miguel Sanchez, Humberto Leiva, Rafael Rios, and (Jorge Castro).

Major General (Patricio Valda) has been appointed director general for national mobilization.

Poland's Walesa Reportedly To Visit 26-28 Oct

PY0610221389 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Portuguese 1700 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Excerpts] President Augusto Pinochet will soon receive a letter from Lech Walesa, leader of the Polish Solidarity labor union, requesting the release of Chilean union leaders Manuel Bustos and Arturo Martinez, who have been banished to the interior of the country. This was reported by CUT [Central Labor Union] Acting President Diego Olivares, who reported on the visit by Walesa—a Nobel Peace Prize winner—to Chile. [passage omitted]

Walesa will be in Santiago from 26 to 28 October to express his solidarity with the banished Chilean union leaders and to meet with Patricio Aylwin, presidential candidate for the Coalition of Parties for Democracy. This will be the first time that the Solidarity leader will travel to Latin America and to Chile in particular. He was invited by the acting president of the CUT last May.

Colombia

New Cabinet Ministers Sworn In by President

PA0910034889 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0100 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Report by Mari Villalobos]

[Text] Carlos Lemos Simmonds, the new government minister, was sworn in today at the Narino Palace. Also sworn in today were Justice Minister Roberto Salazar and Communications Minister Enrique Danies. This ceremony has been repeated 51 times at the Narino Palace during this administration. The ministers and their relatives wait in a straight line, President Virgilio Barco comes into the room accompanied by Secretary General German Montoya, and proceeds to hold the solemn swearing-in ceremony. Today, it was the turn of Carlos Lemos Simmonds, new government minister; Roberto Salazar, ninth justice minister; and Enrique Danies, the fifth communications minister. After the ceremony, each minister commented on the major topics that await them in their new offices. The justice minister talked about extradition:

[Begin Salazar recording] Our duty is to sign the extradition papers when all the legal procedures have been met and with all the justice possible but also with firmness. [end recording]

The communications minister talked about the privatization of television stations.

[Begin Daniles recording] I come from the private sector, so obviously I favor privatization since I know the private sector manages these things well. We are in an advanced technological era. The country has to be modernized and equipment has to be modernized. [end recording]

The government minister also stressed the importance of constitutional reforms.

The three ministers who were sworn in today will work with the president in the 11 months he has left in government, if no further changes are made to this cabinet.

Possible Plot Against Senators Uncovered

PA0910192489 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1200 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Bogota—The three Colombians and one Ecuadoeran who were captured by the National Navy when they were transporting 350 sticks of dynamite and other materiel on the Mira River, 50 km from Tumacu, Narino Department, will be arraigned today.

A commando unit of the Rifln Battalion of the 2d Navy Infantry Force has reported that the terrorists were captured during a search and control operation near Imbili.

The arrested have been identified as Gustavo Osorio, Ermin Sulu Godoy Quinonez, Marta Dominguez Arboleda, and Oscar Fernando Salazar Arboleda, the Ecuadorean.

The terrorists were transporting 350 sticks of dynamite, 750 primers, 31 meters of slow-burning fuse, and 3 bomb fuses.

In Medellin an explosion in a western suburb has allowed the police to uncover a plot against Liberal Party Senators Bernardo Guerra and William Jaramillo Gomez. Police units raided building 8436 on 47-E Street, La Floresta neighborhood, after a device exploded in the building. According to initial reports, the police units found three rockets, ammunition, a remote control unit, and a Renault automobile with a secret compartment for explosives. The police seized other weapons as well as pictures.

Senators Guerra and Jaramillo Gomez are clearly marked in the pictures.

As a result of this operation, the police arrested 47-year-old Pablo Ramiro Taborta, who has claimed he is a photographer.

Drug Traffickers Reportedly Given New Faces

PA0710023789 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0020 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Colombia was truly surprised by the difference between the Evaristo Porras who was captured and the photograph of him that was being shown prior to the capture. Even though the picture was taken a few years ago, today's Porras has high cheekbones, blue eyes, straighter and lighter hair, a mustache, a double chin, and a round face. A plastic surgeon could have done this to change his face.

Even though this newscast has not been able to confirm the type of surgery Porras had, it has confirmed that Pablo Escobar Gaviria had plastic surgery on his nose. Proof of this is the most recent photograph published in LE FIGARO. The photograph shows an Escobar Gaviria with a different face and without a mustache. Two French reporters took the photograph and got worldwide recognition; however, they have also received death threats from the cartel members. This was reported by LE FIGARO in an article entitled: Drugs, World War III.

Venezuela

Reportage on French President Mitterrand's Visit

Arrival Ceremony Reported

PA0910200989

[Editorial Report] Caracas Venezolana de Television Canal 8 in Spanish at 1545 GMT on 9 October broadcasts live from Caracas' Simon Bolivar International

Airport the arrival of French President Francois Mitterrand, his wife, and retinue. The French president descends from the Air France plane at 1545 GMT and is greeted by Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez, his wife, and other Venezuelan officials.

At 1548 GMT the national anthems of Venezuela and France are played. At 1553 the two presidents review the Venezuelan honor guard. Afterwards, President Mitterrand and President Perez walk inside the airport building to go to the Presidential Room where an announcer reports that the ceremony is the official welcome for President Mitterrand.

Mitterrand is greeted by President of the Venezuelan Congress Octavio Lepage, Congress Vice President Jose Rodriguez Iturbe, and President of the Supreme Court Justice Marin Gomez.

At this point President Mitterrand talks to an aide who leads him away as President Perez looks on. Announcer then reports that this has been the official welcoming ceremony for President Francois Mitterrand and wife and promises further coverage of the visit from La Casona Presidential House and from Altamira Square.

'Indisposed' at Airport

PA0910203789 Paris AFP in Spanish 1859 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Caracas, 9 Oct (AFP)—French President Francois Mitterrand became briefly indisposed on his arrival today at Caracas airport where he began an official 2-day state visit to Venezuela, journalists at the airport have reported.

The French president had just been greeted by the president of the Venezuelan Congress and by the president of the Chamber of Deputies of Venezuela when he wiped the perspiration on his forehead, leaned on the arm of an aide, and left the platform in the airport's Presidential Room.

The television stations stopped transmitting the ceremony. Mitterrand sat briefly in a sofa behind the seats occupied by Venezuelan authorities. Then his personal doctor, Claude Gubler, accompanied him briefly and gave him a glass of water.

The French president returned to the platform and the welcome ceremony continued, although it was shortened.

Persons close to Mitterrand have said that the first phase of his trip, prior to his arrival in Caracas, was very tiresome and he had to spend 90 minutes under the sun during his stopover in Guadalupe.

The French president also had to stand 20 minutes under an intense Caribbean sun during the welcoming ceremony at Caracas airport.

After being greeted by Venezuelan personalities, President Mitterrand left with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez for La Casona, the official residence of Venezuelan chiefs of state, to hold meetings as scheduled.

Inaugurates France Square

PA0910232589 Paris AFP in Spanish 2226 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Caracas, 9 Oct (AFP)—French President Francois Mitterrand today inaugurated France Square located in a residential area in eastern Caracas. During the ceremony President Mitterand said that the new square "is proof of the friendship between Venezuela and France, between Paris and Caracas."

Hundreds of residents of Caracas applauded Mitterrand—who today began a 2-day official visit to Venezuela—when he arrived at the new square and unveiled a commemorative plaque. Mitterand was accompanied by his host, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez.

Minutes earlier, Mitterrand had taken a ride on the Caracas Metro which was built with French technology, equipment, and capital.

France Square is the former Altamira Square remodeled for this occasion. A stone, lead, and steel obelisk, the work of French artist Bernard Pages and allegoric of freedom, stands on France Square, located near the Altamira neighborhood and metro station.

The square was originally designed for Altamira by Luis Roche, a Venezuelan city planner of French origin, and it runs along the Francisco de Miranda Avenue—forefather of Venezuelan independence and hero of the French Revolution— elements recalled by Mitterrand when wishing that the square be "a symbol of the friendship between our two countries."

A similar square was built near the Bolivar Metro Station in Paris.

Speaks on Third World Debt

PA1010021189 Paris AFP in Spanish 0033 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Caracas, 9 Oct (AFP)—French President Francois Mitterrand said in Caracas today that "we cannot resign ourselves to the impoverishment of the Third World" and he called for the "resumption without delay of North-South dialogue."

Mitterrand initiated a 2-day official visit to Caracas today, the first stage of his fourth tour to Latin America, which will later take him to Ecuador.

Answering a speech delivered by his Venezuelan colleague Carlos Andres Perez in a banquet, Mitterrand talked today about plans for the reduction of Third World debt and he said that recent solutions have been "a step in the right direction" but "they are not enough."

"The ever-increasing burden of foreign debt adversely affects numerous Third World peoples, but we must not

resign ourselves under the pretext that overall solutions are difficult to find. On the contrary, we must resume without delay the North-South dialogue," the president said.

Mitterrand repeated his proposal of last year made at the United Nations where he talked about the need to solve the debt problems of underdeveloped countries and he noted that "the payment of the debt should not endanger social and economic development."

Likewise, the French president warned about "the dangers that result from so many injustices" and he said that "indifference should not prevail because the situation of so many human beings is becoming worse each day and the impoverishment of some makes a big contrast to the wealth and riches of others."

As for the situation in Venezuela, with a foreign debt amounting to about $30 billion, Mitterrand said that "we will cooperate as much as possible."

The French president talked about the bonds that link his country with Venezuela and noted that "our governments have the same objectives in matters of foreign policy: search for peace, support for democracy, support for the development of countries, work side by side for the protection of the environment, and fight against drug trafficking."

"We are trying to introduce a little more order, equilibrium, and justice in international relations," Mitterrand said.

"The changes in East-West relations and the free spread of ideas provide a precious opportunity for peace and freedom in the world, and all democratic countries must make an effort to consolidate them," Mitterrand said.

Perez Hosts Banquet, Gives Speech

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[Text] Caracas, 9 Oct (AFP)—When speaking about the foreign debt, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez today told his French colleague Francois Mitterrand that Latin Americans "do not ask for favors or graces [gracias]," but "we demand recognition of an explosive situation that affects us all."

During a speech delivered at a banquet in honor of President Mitterrand—who today began a 2-day official visit to Venezuela which will also take him to Ecuador—Perez praised the French president's initiatives with regard to the foreign debt and admitted the support the French Government is giving to the idea of a new North-South dialogue.

"But it should be stressed that our priority must be harmonious growth and that this goal is not possible without solving the debt problem," Perez stressed.

"We are not asking for special favors or graces. Such a request is not in accordance with our dignity as countries or our vision of the problem. We demand recognition of an explosive situation," Perez added.

Venezuela, like other countries of the region that together owe $420 billion, seeks a "substantial" reduction—it aspires to reduce it by 50 percent—of the $20 billion it owes the commercial banks. In total, Venezuela owes approximately $30 billion.

"Our countries' debt is the result of a shared responsibility. We were the lubricants [lubricantes] of a financial system that was full of money that had to be placed somewhere. That is how the infernal cycle of the foreign debt we are experiencing today began," Perez said.

The Venezuelan president described his French colleague as a "firm ally" because of his "decisive contribution" to "prevent the industrialized world from eluding its responsibilities and ignoring the suggestions of developing countries."

Among the suggestions made by the developing countries, President Perez stressed "successfully confronting the issue of the debt with new financing mechanisms, with the guarantee that these will be used for specific development plans. We are willing to do this."

Perez also talked about the efforts being made by the Group of Eight (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela) to strengthen democracy in Central America and avoid the consolidation of a "military dictatorship" in Panama.

The Group of Eight presidents will meet in Ica, Peru, within 3 days.

In conclusion, Perez sais that it would be impossible to talk with "Companero Mitterrand" and not mention "the indescribable drama experienced by a country that is closely linked to France and Venezuela—Haiti."

"New perspectives are arising" in Haiti, Perez said, and suggested to Mitterrand "summoning a group of countries of the region that, together with France, will confront the urgent and unpostponable challenge to rescue that country from the total chaos it confronts."